

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

NEW IMPERIAL SERIES, VOL. LIII

SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

VOLUME III

PART IV.—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR, TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU

(WITH TEN PLATES)

INCLUDING TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, TABLE OF CONTENTS, LIST OF PLATES,
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA, INTRODUCTION AND INDEX OF VOLUME III

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

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MADRAS :

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH, CALCUTTA

1929

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VOLUME III—PART IV

No. XVII.—COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR, TIRUKKALAR AND TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 206.—TWO PANDYA COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR.

These are two of the four sets of Pāṇḍya copper plate grants discovered so far and are herein published for the first time. The Vēlvikūḍi grant of Parāntaka Neduñjaḍaiyaṇ has been edited by me in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 to 309 and the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman, by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 to 75. These four, studied together, furnish a genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas from the early king Kaḍuṅgōṇ, who is said to have flourished at the close of the first Śaṅgam of Tamil poets, down to Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya¹, the contemporary of the Chōla king Parāntaka I, who reigned at the commencement of the 10th century A.D. With the invasion of the latter into the Pāṇḍya country and his capture of Madura, which earned for him the title 'Madiraikonḍa', the early Pāṇḍya power seems to have come to an end, and made room, for the next two centuries at least, for the unchallenged sway of the Chōlas over the whole of Southern India.

The two grants under consideration have been thoroughly reported in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-1907, pp. 62 ff. Speaking of their provenance, Mr. Venkayya states "the plates are reported to have been found about 20 or 25 years ago (now nearly forty years) while digging for the foundation of the kitchen in the Vishṇu temple at Śinnamanūr² in the Periyakulam taluka of the Madura district, and have since been purchased for deposit in the Madras Museum, from their owner Mr. Rajam Ayyar."

The bigger of the two sets consists of seven copper plates, measuring approximately 10" by 3½". The thin rims which they once seem to have had, are now completely worn out. The plates are numbered on their obverse sides, with the Tamil numerals 2 to 8 close to the right side of the ring hole, thus showing that the first plate, whose obverse must have borne the number 1, is now lost. The last plate ending with the word *Karkuḷattil*, also shows that one or more plates which contained the last portion of the grant are lost. The ring which held the plates together and which, judging by the size of the ring holes in the middle of the left margin of each plate, must have been a little less than ¾" in thickness, is missing. The existing seven plates weigh 390 *tolas*.

The smaller set consists of three thin plates without rims, *viz.* the first, second and the last, with one or more plates of two written sides, missing between the second and the last. The first and the last plates are not numbered as in the larger set. The ring with which the

¹ See below, Table on p. 446. The three Pāṇḍya kings Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Kuvāvaṇ Māraṇ, his son Iḷaṅgōvadiyaraiaṇ *alias* Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ, and his son Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṇ *alias* Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ mentioned in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions of about the 8th century A.D. do not appear in this genealogy. They evidently belonged to a subordinate branch of the family and were perhaps kings of the southern Tañjai country, ruling almost independently of the imperial Pāṇḍyas at Madura and sometimes fighting with them. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 and 137.

² Spelt Chinnamanur in the Alphabetical list of villages in the Madras Presidency.

plates were held together is lost. The ring-hole is not, as usual, bored in the middle of the left margin, but at the left bottom or the left top corner, according as the written side of the plate is odd or even—the sheets being meant evidently to be read by turning over the leaf, as in a palm-leaf manuscript without the necessity of actually removing the plate from the ring. The plates measure $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 3" and the three plates, together, weigh 51 *tolas*.

Both sets of plates use the Grantha alphabet wherever Sanskrit verses and Sanskrit words occur and the Tamil Vaṭṭeḷuttu where the Tamil language is employed. The palaeography of the smaller set of plates does not differ much from that of the Madras Museum plates of Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, who, as I have stated already in my paper on the Vēlvikuḍi grant, has to be identified with the donor of the latter and therefore also with Mārajañjaḍaiyaṇ of the Āṇaimalai inscription.¹

The remark made by Mr. Venkayya that the Madras Museum plates and the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates are nearer in point of time to the larger Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates than they are to the Vēlvikuḍi grant, has been already examined by me in the light of the palaeography of the plates under publication. I have noticed that the difference in the formation of the Grantha characters of the Vēlvikuḍi, the Madras Museum and the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates all of which in my opinion belong to the same period, should be due to their having been written at different periods later than their Vaṭṭeḷuttu portions. In the matter of their Vaṭṭeḷuttu writing, the smaller and the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates are far separated by time and the palaeographical differences are apparent. The formation of the initial vowel *a*, the *e*-mark in consonants, the letters *na*, *ma*, and *ya*,—of which the two latter, it is surprising to find, resemble the *ma* and *ya* of the Vēlvikuḍi and the Āṇaimalai inscriptions,—show marked differences. The differences which the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates and the Madras Museum plates present, except in the formation of the letter *ya*, are very slight. They are almost nil. Consequently, Mr. Venkayya's identification of the second king Arikēsari Asamasaman Māṇavarman mentioned in the smaller Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates with Māṇavarman Pallava-bhañjana of the Madras Museum plates and that of his son—his unnamed son who was victorious at Marudūr—with Jaṭilavarman Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ of the same plates, becomes untenable even on the grounds of palaeography. This point will become clearer in the sequel where the identification of the kings mentioned in the smaller and the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates is discussed.

The Sanskrit portion of the bigger Śiṇṇamaṇṭr plates begins with a fragmentary verse in which the king (perhaps Pāṇḍya) boasts of having subdued the ocean—an attribute which the mythical Pāṇḍya kings generally assumed in consequence, perhaps, of their sea-bordering kingdom, their naval power, and their sea-borne trade, from the earliest historical times. From him were descended the kings known as Pāṇḍyas (v. 2) 'who engraved their edicts on the Himalaya mountain' and whose family-priest was the sage Agastya (v. 3). One of the Pāṇḍya kings is said to have occupied the throne of Indra (v. 4) and another to have shared it with that god, and still another, to have caused the Ten-Headed (*i.e.*, Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā) to sue for peace (v. 5). One was a conqueror of the epic hero Arjuna (v. 7)². Verse 8 refers to a king who cut off his own head in order to protect that of his master and also to a certain Sundara-Pāṇḍya who had mastered all the sciences. Many kings of this family had performed Vēdic sacrifices *Rājasūya* and *Āśvamēdha* (v. 9).³

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 317 f.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 59 and foot-note 4.

³ The Tamil portion gives many more of such attributes to the Pāṇḍya ancestors; see below p. 443.

In this family was born king Arikēsarin. His son was Jaṭila; his son Râjasimha (II); his son Varaguṇa (I); and his son Śrī-Mâra entitled Śrīvallabha (v. 10). Śrī-Mâra conquered Mâyâ-Pândya, the kings of Kêraḷa and Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha (v. 11). His son was Parântaka the younger brother of Varaguṇa II (v. 12), who fought a battle at Kharagiri and captured Ugra (v. 13). His wife was Vâṇavaṇmahâdêvi (v. 15) and their son was Râjasimha (III), the banner (both) of the solar and the lunar races (vv. 16 and 17).

A favourite of this king was the Brâhman Parântaka, the son of Śrêshṭhîsarman, the grandson of the Vêdic scholar Bhâskara (v. 21) and the great-grandson of Śrêshṭhin, a Seṅguṭi-Kauśika of Puttûr (vv. 20 and 21). The ancestors of this Parântaka were the followers of Âgnivêśya-kalpa—evidently the science of medicine—and his maternal grandfather was the famous Ūraśarman of the Maudgalya lineage, of Syandanagrâma. To Śrêshṭhîsarman, king Parântaka Viranârayana had given the village of Maṇiyâchi, surnamed Tîsaichchudarmaṅgala in Vaḍa-Kalavaḷi-nâḍu. The ruling king Râjasimha (III) gave to the Brâhman Parântaka, in the 16th year of his reign, while encamped at Chûḷal in Râjasimha-kulakkil, the *agrahâra* Narcheygai-Puttûr surnamed Mandaragaurava-maṅgalam in Aḷa-nâḍu.

The *viñṇapti* of the grant was the councillor and poet Jaṭila (v. 33) of the Atri-gôtra, while the *âñṇapti* was Kûṭṭaṅgôn, a servant of king Mâṇavarman (v. 34). The *kudikâval* was Nakkaṅkumân, son of the headman of Kûra in Kil-Vêmba-nâḍu, who was a minister and the chief of the elephant forces. Nakkaṅ-Kâḍa, Kôn-Vêlân and Paṭârañ-Chôlai were three officers who witnessed the demarcation of the boundary line. Verse 37 supplies for the king the surname Abhimânamêru.

The composer of the *prasasti* was Vâsudêva, a friend of Madhuraguṇa and the elder brother of Viṣṇu (v. 38).

The Tamil portion which begins with line 76 also praises the Pândya kings who belonged to the lunar race and bore the crest of the double fish, had Agastya as their family preceptor and counted the god (Śiva) as one of their family members. Many other incidents, mostly mythical, are also registered of some of the early kings: such as, (1) churning the ocean for nectar; (2) bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day; (3) going round the earth; (4) sending embassy to the gods on many occasions; (5) taking away the necklace of Pâkaśâsana (Indra); (6) mastering the Tamil language of the south; (7) driving away the sea by throwing a javelin; (8) giving a thousand golden hills (*Mêru*) in charity; (9) founding the town of Madura and erecting a wall round it; (10) studying Tamil and Sanskrit (*vaḍa-moḷi*) as even to excel Paṇḍits; (11) leading elephants in the Bhârata war against the Mahârathas; (12) relieving Vijaya (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; (13) engraving the victorious symbols of the fish, the tiger, and the bow on the top of the Northern mountain, *i.e.*, the Himalayas; (14) getting huge giants to work for them in building many tanks; (15) cutting off the heads of two kings in the battles fought at Chitramayari and Talaiyâlaṅgânam; (16) getting the Mahâbhârata translated into Tamil; and (17) establishing the Tamil Śaṅgam in the town of Madura. After these kings had passed away, there came a king named Parâṅkuśa who saw the back of (*i.e.*, defeated) the Chêra king at Nelvêli and the Pallava king at Śaṅkaramaṅgai. His grandson was Râjasimha, after whom came a king named Varaguṇa-Mahârâja. The exact relationship of this Varaguṇa-Mahârâja to his predecessor Râjasimha has not been recorded. Râjasimha's son was Parachakrakôlâhala who was successful in battles fought at Kunnûr, Śiṅgalam

(Ceylon) and Viliñam and who at Kuḍamūkkil won a deadly battle against the combined armies of the Gaṅga, Pallava, Chôla, Kaliṅga, Magadha and other kings. Next came Varaguṇavarman, whose relationship to Parachakrakôlâhala is also not specified. His younger brother was Parântakaṇ Śaḍaiyaṇ, who fought battles at Sennilam, Kharagiri and Pennāgaḍam in the Koṅgu country. To him and his queen Vāṇavaṇmahâdêvî was born Râjasimha surnamed Vikatavâḍava and Mandaragaurava. This latter fought a battle at Clappinimaṅgalam, drove the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) in a battle fought at Naippûr, won a battle at Koḍumbai, burnt the town of Vañji on the northern bank of the Ponni (Kâvêrî) river and destroyed the lord of the southern Tañjai country at Nâval.

In the 14th year opposite to the second year of his reign (*i.e.*, the 16th year as stated in the Sanskrit portion), this Râjasimha, while he was encamped at Chûlal, a town founded by himself in the district of Râjasingapperuṅgulakkîl or Râjasimhakulakkîl, granted to the Brâhman Parântaka, the village Narcheygai-Puttâr in Aḷa-nâḍu, re-naming it Mandaragauravamaṅgalam. As in the Sanskrit portion, lines 147 to 155 seem to record that Bhâskaran-Setti (Śrêshṭhisarman of the Sanskrit portion) the son of Bhâskara and the foremost of the Ombâlvas of the Âgnivêśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kausika-gôtra (Senguti-Kausika of the Sanskrit portion) dwelling in Puttâr, in the Miṅgundâru (district) of Koluvûr-kûṛram (division), had received from Parântaka Vîranârâyana, the village of Tisaichchudarmaṅgalam in the Vadakalavali-nâḍu (province). From the Sanskrit passage, we learn that Maniyâchi, which may be identified with the well-known junction station on the South Indian Railway, was surnamed Tisaichchudarmaṅgalam. The *vinṇappam* (*vinṇapti* in Sanskrit) *i.e.*, the one who made the formal request to the king, was, according to the Tamil portion, a certain Śaḍaiyapirân-Bhaṭṭasômayâjin of Pullamaṅgalam in Sôla-nâḍu : and the *âṇṇapti*, as in the Sanskrit portion, was Kûṛraṅgôn, a native of Vêmbarrûr in Kalavali-nâḍu. Kumân or Nakkan-Kumân¹ (as he is called in Sanskrit) of the village of Kûra in Kîl-Vêmba-nâḍu, was the *kuḍikâval-nâyakan* or the chief revenue officer. The three officers, who, according to the Sanskrit portion, were to witness the demarcation of the boundary line, are stated in the Tamil portion, to have been the *kanakkar* or accountants, the demarcation itself being done by the *nâttâr*, *i.e.*, the district people of Aḷa-nâḍu. Of the boundaries, the eastern boundary was the Śuruli-âru (river). The southern boundary of the village granted, which commences at the end of the eighth plate, must have been continued on the next, which is however missing.

Compared with the Vêlvikuḍi plates of Neduñjaḍaiyaṇ, we find that the account given in the bigger Sînnamaṇṭr plates includes, as it should, many later Pândya kings. The mild Purânic tradition of the Vêlvikuḍi plates connecting the Pândyas with Agastya, the churning of the milk ocean, and the sharing with Indra of half his throne and necklace, grows here into a big list with seven or eight other extra items added to it. Some of these are interesting. For instance, the going round the earth, and the bathing in the waters of the four oceans in a single day, are feats attributed to Vâli, king of the monkeys¹. Again, calling the aid of huge giants to build tanks in the Pândya land also seems to suggest the near connection which the Pândya country had with Ceylon, the land of Râvana. The driving away of the sea by throwing a javelin is perhaps a reminiscence of a similar feat ascribed to the epic hero Râma. The leading of elephants against the Mahârathas in the Bhârata war is a fact which is commemorated also in literature, of the Chêra king Senguttuvan,

¹ Vâlmiki-Râmâyana, Uttarakânḍa, chapter 34.

who is said to have fed the soldiers in the Mahābhārata war. Some of the other attributes, however, are of much historical value. The mastery over the Tamil language of the south, the foundation of the town of Madura and the erection of a wall round it, the studying of Tamil and Sanskrit as even to excel Paṇḍits, the initiating of the translation of the Mahābhārata into Tamil and the establishing of the Tamil Śaṅgam (academy) in the town of Madura—these, clearly indicate the close connection the Pāṇḍya kings had with the development of the Tamil language and the foundation of the town of Madura. The battles of Chitramuyari and Talaiyālaṅgāṇam mentioned of one of the unnamed Pāṇḍya kings must be a reference to Neḍuñjeliyaṇ who is spoken of in literature as the hero who gained success in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam by defeating the Chōḷa and the Chêra kings. Our plates add that the heads of these two kings were actually cut off and this was not in one battle as literature suggests, but in two, *viz.*, Chitramuyari and Talaiyālaṅgāṇam.¹

The genealogies of the Pāṇḍya kings as given in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions differ widely ; but still as both refer to the same grant, which was made in the sixteenth year of the same king, there cannot be any room for doubt. Consequently, the statements of the Sanskrit and the Tamil portions have to be supplemented one with the other, in order to obtain a complete genealogy (*see* Table D in the attached sheet of genealogical tables).

The smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, after the usual invocation to god Purushōttama (Vishṇu) (v. 1), confer a benediction on the family of the Moon, in which were born the (Pāṇḍya) kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (v. 2).

In that family of the Moon, after many kings of great deeds had expired, came forth a son of Jayantavarman, the great king (*paramēśvara*) Arikēsari Asamasaman Alaṅghya-vikrama Akālakāla Māravarman. His son was one who fought battles at Marudūr and Kuvalaimalai. Here comes a break and one or two plates on which the genealogy should have been continued, are lost. What is left on the last plate treats only of the description of the boundary line of the granted land or village, and mentions the Bhagavatī temple of Korraṇputtūr. The *āṇatti* of the grant was Tāyaṇ Śiṅgaṇ, the *uttaramantri* of Kuṇḍūr in Kuṇḍūr-kūṇṇam of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. The *purāṅkāval* of this village was eighty-five *kalams* (of paddy). The king himself, as in the Vēlvikuḍi plates (ll. 151-152), made a declaration and caused the copper-plate grant to be executed. It may be noted that Korraṇputtūr mentioned above, also figures among the boundaries of Vēlvikuḍi. The record was written (or witnessed) by Arikēsari, son of Pāṇḍi-Perumbaṇaikkāraṇ who also wrote the Madras Museum plates.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to have clearly before us the genealogical tables supplied by the four Pāṇḍya copper-plate grants, *viz.*, (A) the Vēlvikuḍi grant, (B) the Madras Museum plates, (C) the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates and (D) the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, severally. For convenience of reference, it will be noted that the numbers given to the kings in the Vēlvikuḍi table are repeated in the other tables in cases where, for reasons explained in the sequel, the kings are identical.

¹ For further information on the Pāṇḍya who fought the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṇam, *see* Dr. S. K. Ayyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History*, chapter 4.

The description of the three kings given in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates enables us to identify at once the last who fought the battle at Marudūr with (5) Śāḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhira of the Vēlvikuḍi plates and his father with (4) Arikēsari Asamasaman Māṇavarman of the same. From this it further follows that Jayantavarman the father of Arikēsari Asamasaman must be identified with (3) Śēliyaṇ Śēndaṇ. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar suggests that Jayantavarman is perhaps a Sanskritized form of Śēndaṇ. Thus the three kings referred to in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr record, must be Nos. (3), (4) and (5) of Mr. Venkayya's genealogical table given at page 54 of part II of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908. It is, therefore, difficult to see how or why Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya must have been inclined to attribute the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates to Parāntaka Viranārāyaṇa Śāḍaiyaṇ of the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates (D), who comes three generations after (7) of the Vēlvikuḍi grant, especially after seeing that the three names mentioned in the smaller set are evidently only the first three names of what might have been a longer genealogy, similar to that of the Vēlvikuḍi grant or the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates. The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman and the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, palaeographically, are almost of the same period, and if, as proved in my paper on the Vēlvikuḍi grant, the donor of the Madras Museum plates is identical with the donor of the Vēlvikuḍi grant, it follows that the donor of the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates too must be either Parāntaka Neḍuṇjaḍaiyaṇ of the Vēlvikuḍi grant or an immediate successor of his. So, the missing plate or plates after the second in the smaller Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr set should have contained the names of (5) Śāḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhira, (6) Tērmāṇaṇ, (7) Parāntaka Neḍuṇjaḍaiyaṇ and perhaps also his successor Rājasimha II. It is very disappointing that these plates are lost; else, we would have had enough material to compare the genealogies and to identify the names.

In comparing next, the historical Pāṇḍya genealogy derived from the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates with that of the Vēlvikuḍi grant, one has to be guided not only by the common names and titles of kings belonging to about the same age, but also by the common battles fought and the common enemies conquered by them—though it is not impossible that these may be repeated in history. Palaeographical similarities no doubt often help in the identification of names but sometimes they also fail when the particular inscription from which we draw the inference happens to be a copy of some older document, written in a later hand. Applying these methods we find that the first king Arikēsari of the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇṇūr plates, who is said to have fought the battle of Nelvêli against a Chêra king, will at first appear to be the same as Arikēsari Māṇavarman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikuḍi grant whose enemy at Nelvêli was a certain Vilvêli¹ (perhaps a Chêra). But Arikēsari of (A) did not, however, fight with the Pallava king as did Arikēsari mentioned in (D). The battle of Śaṅkara-maṅgai where Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari of (D) defeated the Pallavas is not mentioned of No. 4 in (A) but Tērmāṇaṇ (No. 6) a grandson of Arikēsari (No. 4) is clearly said to have crushed the Pallava power. Again, the title Parāṅkuśa, given to Arikēsari in the Tamil portion of (D) makes it difficult to connect him with the first Arikēsari Māṇavarman (No. 4) of the Vēlvikuḍi plates. So, it has to be assumed, at least hypothetically, that a second battle was fought at Nelvêli by Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari, like the first by his grandfather, Asamasaman Arikēsari, against the very same or a different Chêra king. The fact that Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari's grandson is called Rājasimha in (D) suggests the possibility of

¹ Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar suggests, however, that Vilvêli here may probably be synonymous with Pallava, since Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, in his *Periya-Tirumoli* makes Villavaṇ synonymous with Pallava. But it must be noted that Vilvêli is different from Villavaṇ.

Arikēsari himself being also called Rājasimha, which title we actually find for the first time given to Têrmāraṇ in the Vêlvikuḍi plates. Thus, the battle of Śāṅkaramaṅgai and the defeat of Pallavamalla and a possible second battle at Nelvēli are the only common factors that might enable us to connect the genealogy of the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇḍr plates with that of the Vêlvikuḍi grant. Parāṅkuśa Arikēsari must therefore be No. 6 Têrmāraṇ, the contemporary of Pallavamalla (Cir. A. D. 760) as we learn from the Vêlvikuḍi grant. If this is admitted, Têrmāraṇ (No. 6) of (A) must be presumed to have also had the titles Arikēsarin and Parāṅkuśa, to have defeated the Pallavas at Śāṅkaramaṅgai before actually crushing Pallavamalla in the battles at Kuḷumbûr and Periyalûr and to have fought a second battle at Nelvēli against an unnamed Chêra.¹

Of king Jaṭila, the second in the genealogical list (D) given above, nothing is stated in the plates in the Sanskrit portion, the Tamil portion omitting his name altogether. On the hypothesis, however, of Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa being identical with Têrmāraṇ of the Vêlvikuḍi grant, Jaṭila will have to be identified with (No. 7) Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ, the donor of the Vêlvikuḍi grant—it being inexplicable, however, why this king of whom we hear so much in the Vêlvikuḍi and in the Madras Museum plates, should have been mentioned without any remarks in the Sanskrit portion and omitted altogether in the Tamil portion. The other kings who follow are later names in the Pāṇḍya genealogy and their achievements are detailed in the genealogical table (D) given above.

The successor of Jaṭila was Rājasimha (II)² of whom nothing is stated. After him came Varaguṇa or Varaguṇa-Mahārāja of great prowess who was separated by two generations or roughly 50 years from Têrmāraṇ (No. 6 of A) the contemporary of Pallavamalla Nandi-varman already mentioned. Consequently, he should have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century A.D. Though very scanty information is supplied about this king by the bigger Śiṅṇamaṇḍr plates, still he is familiar to students of epigraphy and we know of very many references in inscriptions to Varaguṇa or Varaguṇa-Mahārāja³, sometimes also called Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. We learn, e.g., that Varaguṇa, for the first time, carried his conquests northward into the Chôla country against Idavai⁴ on which occasion also he should perhaps have destroyed the fortified walls of Vêmbil (Vêmbarrûr). Varaguṇa thence pushed further north into the Tondai-nāḍu making there a grant from his camp at Araiśûr, a village on the banks of the Pennar to the temple of Erichchâ-Uḍaiyâr at Ambâsamudram in the Tinnevely district. Again, an inscription at Kaḷugumalai⁵, also in the Tinnevely district, supports the above statement by referring to an expedition of the king (herein called only Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ) against Arividûrkkôṭṭai and casually mentions the village Pûṇḍamali (i.e., Poonamalli) in Tondai-nāḍu. The Tiruviśalûr inscription dated in the 4th year of the reign of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja might also belong to this same king⁶. The Aivarmalai inscription which supplies the initial date Śaka 784 or A.D. 862 to Varaguṇa must refer to the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 293 and 295.

² Têrmāraṇ was Rājasimha I.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 86 f.

⁴ No. 690 of 1905.

⁵ No. 43 of the *Madras Epigraphist's Collection* for 1908.

⁶ Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar thinks that this belongs to Varaguṇavarman II, but the title Mahārāja added to his name in the Tiruviśalûr record leaves no doubt that he is the first of that name.

later Varagunavarman who was the grandson of Varaguna I. An inscription from Tiruvellārai which is dated in his 13th year, and where the king is called Mārāñjadaiyaṇ supplies astronomical details for the verification of the date. The actual calculation, worked out by Mr. Sewell at page 253 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, fits in with the 13th year of this Varagunavarman II, viz., Monday the 22nd November, A.D. 874. This is the second sure date in the Pāṇḍya chronology, the first being A.D. 769-70 (or thereabouts) of the Āṇamalai inscription, for king Mārāñjadaiyaṇ Parāntaka, Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ, the donor of the Vēlvikūḍi grant and of the Madras Museum plates. Thus the initial date of Varaguna II got from the Aivarmalai inscription, is A.D. 862 and the nearest possible date of Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ is A.D. 770. The difference between these two dates i.e. 92 years, suggests at least four generations and Rai Bahadur Venkayya has, accordingly in his genealogical table of the Pāṇḍyas given at page 54 of his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1908, Part II, taken the Varaguna of the Aivarmalai inscription to be the second of that name who, according to the Udayēndiram plates, killed the Gaṅga king Prithivīpati I in the battle at Śrīpurambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam near Kumbhakōṇam, being himself subsequently defeated by the last Pallava king Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavarman son of Nṛipatuṅga¹. Leaving alone the second Varagunavarman for the present, it may be stated that in the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja I the Pāṇḍya dominion was largely extended as to include in it the Chōḷa and the Pallava country right up to the bank of the Pennār in Tondai-nāḍu. This invasion could not have been allowed to pass without severe resistance by the kings concerned, viz., the Chōḷas and the Pallavas, and consequently, we see that in the next reign king Śrīvallabha (10) had to fight fierce battles, three of them being at Kuḍamūkkil, i.e., Kumbhakōṇam in the heart of the Chōḷa country, against perhaps the allied Chōḷas, Gaṅgas and Pallavas.² This was perhaps the commencement of the struggle. It perhaps ended only with the defeat of Varaguna II, by the Pallava king Aparājita at Śrīpurambiyam, near Kumbhakōṇam, where his Gaṅga ally Prithivīpati I also died. The Chōḷa enemies of the Pāṇḍyas, now turned against their allies, the Pallavas Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I overran the Tondai-nāḍu in the north and occupied it. But the Pāṇḍya king Rājasimha III (No. 13), the son of Parāntaka Śadaiyaṇ, defeated the king of Tañjai (Tanjore) at Naippūr, fought a battle at Koḍumbai (Koḍumbālūr) the seat of one of the powerful Chōḷa subordinates, burnt Vañji and destroyed the king of southern Tañjai (perhaps another subordinate of the Chōḷas) at Nāval. Āditya's son Parāntaka I defeated this Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya, the nephew of Varaguna II and captured the Pāṇḍya capital Madura, thereby acquiring for himself the well-known title Madiraikoṇḍa. The mention of Mâyâ-Pāṇḍya as in rebellious union against Śrīvallabha (10) and that of Ugra (perhaps also a Pāṇḍya king) against Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śadaiyaṇ (12) show internal dissensions in the Pāṇḍya family which must have been the cause of their eventual downfall. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka appears to have courted the friendship of the rising powerful Chōḷa and to have married Vāṇavaṇmahâ-dēvî, evidently a Chōḷa princess, as the title 'the flag of both the lunar and the solar races'³ borne by his son Rājasimha clearly shows.

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906, Part II, p. 64, paragraph 9.

² He carried his conquest also into Siṃhaḷa. The *Mahāvamsa* says that Aggabōdhi and Sēna killed Mahinda and his brothers who returned to the island from the opposite coast.

³ A similar title was assumed by Varaguna of the Trichinopoly cave inscription. The solar family to which he belonged on his mother's side, may have been the Chōḷa.

Of the topographical and other proper names mentioned in both the sets of Śiṅṇamaṇṭr plates, viz., Chitramuyari, Talaiyālaṅgānam, Nelvēli, Śaṅkaramāṅgai, Kuṇṇūr, Śiṅgālam, Viliṇam, Kuḍamūkkil, Sēṇṇilam, Kharagiri, Pennāgaḍam, Koṅgu, Ulappinimaṅgalam, Taṇjai, Naippūr, Koḍumbai, Vaṇji [on the northern bank of the Poṇṇi (Kāvêrî) river], Nāval, Chūlal, Rājasiṅgapperuṅḷakkil, Nārcheygaiputtūr, Aḷa-nāḍu, Puttūr, Miṅḡuṇḍāru, Koluvūr-kūṛram, Maṇiyāchi or Tisaichchudarmaṅgalam, Vaḍa-Kaḷavali-nāḍu, Pullamaṅgalam, Śōla-nāḍu, Vēmbarrūr in Kaḷavali-nāḍu, Kūra in Kil-Vēmba-nāḍu, Śuruli-āru (river), Marudūr, Kuvalaimalai, Korraṇputtūr, Kuṇḍūr and Aṇḍa-nāḍu, almost all are familiar and known to us from inscriptions. The first two are not identified, the second being known only to literature. Kuḍamūkkil is Kumbhakōṇam; Viliṇam is a port in the Travancore State; Śiṅgālam is Ceylon; Pennāgaḍam is a village in the Tanjore District; Koṅgu comprises the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore; Taṇjai is the well-known Tanjore; Koḍumbai is Koḍumbālūr in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. Rājasiṅgakuḷakkil may be identified with Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam in the Śivagaṅga Zamindāri. It is called Varaguṇamaṅgalam in its inscriptions. Nārcheygaiputtūr must be identical with Śiṅṇamaṇṭr in the Periyakulam taluk where these plates were obtained. The stone inscriptions of the place, however, show that it bore the name Arikēsarinallūr and was a *brahmadēya* in Aḷa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam.¹ A hamlet of it was Korraṇputtūr, identical, perhaps, with the native village of the donee.² Mention is also made in stone inscriptions of the places Mandaragauravamaṅgalam and Arapadaśekharamaṅgalam, which had assemblies similar to that of Arikēsarinallūr that met together in a common place, evidently showing that these places were not far distant from each other.³ Aḷa-nāḍu is the territorial division in which Śiṅṇamaṇṭr was situated. Kōttārpōlil-Puttūr is identical with Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad district and is the headquarters of a taluk. From No. 90 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908, we learn that it was situated in Miṅḡuṇḍāru in Koluvūr-kūṛram, which is the description given of Kōttārpōlil-Puttūr in these plates. Pullamaṅgalam is a village in the Pāpanāśam taluk of the Tanjore district. It was situated in Kilār-kūṛram. Kil-Vēmba-nāḍu is a subdivision of the Pāṇḍya country in which Tinnevely was situated. As such, the village of Kūra must be looked for near about Tinnevely. Śuruli-āru is the river that takes its rise from the Śuruli-malai, 7 miles from Cumbum in the Periyakulam taluk of the Madura district, and flows past Cumbum and Śiṅṇamaṇṭr and joins the Vaigai. Aṇḍa-nāḍu is that territorial division of the Pāṇḍya country in which Periyakōṭṭai in the Dindigul taluk was. Hence Kuṇḍūr and Korraṇputtūr must be traced out in that locality.

Larger Śiṅṇamaṇṭr Plates.

TEXT.⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1 and 30, *Upajāti*; V. 2, *Vaiśvadēvi*; Vv. 3, 4, 5, 8 and 31, *Upēndra-rājrā*; Vv. 6, 7, 13, 27 and 38, *Pushpitāgrā*; Vv. 9, 11, 14, 16 and 23, *Śālīni*; Vv. 12 and 32, *Drutavilambitam*; Vv. 15, 22, 26, 28, 29, 34 and 36, *Anuṣṭubh*; Vv. 25, 33 and 35, *Indravajrā*; V. 24, *Mandākrāntā*; Vv. 10 and 20, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*; V. 21, *Sragdharā*; and Vv. 17, 18, 19 and 37, *Vasantatilakā*].

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907, Nos. 427, 428, 432 and 441.

² *Ibid.* No. 442.

³ *Ibid.* Nos. 439 and 452.

⁴ From the original plates and a set of ink-impressions.

Second Plate : First Side.¹

- 1 त्वंगतरंगावलिभंगरंगत्पतंगनक्षत्रशशांकरः [1*] कल्पवसानक्षुभि-
- 2 तोपि सिन्धुर्यत्पादपीठश्रियमाललम्बे² ॥ [1*] वंशस्तस्यासीद्विक्रमाक्रा-
- 3 न्तविश्वशत्रुक्षत्रश्रीशर्वरीसप्तसप्तः [1*] पुण्यश्लोकानाम् भूरिषाम्नाचृ³पाणा-
- 4 म् यत्रोत्पन्ना⁴नान्धर्मपत्नी धरित्री ॥ [2*] हताखिलारातिमहीपती-
- 5 नां हिमाचलारोपिनशासनानाम् [1*] पुरोहितोभूदवनीपतीनाम्
- 6 यदुद्भवानाम् भगवानगस्त्यः [3*] निहत्य देवासुरयुद्धमध्ये महा-
- 7 सुरान्मानधनो यदुद्भूः [1*] अघोनिषण्णामरलोकमेकस्तुरेन्द्रसिंहासन-
- 8 मध्यतिष्ठन् ॥ [4*] जयाय दौत्यन्त्रिदिवालयानाञ्जगाम कश्चित्कृतधीः कृतज्ञः [1*] द-
- 9 शाननन्सन्धिपरश्वकार⁵ नरेश्वरः कश्चिदखण्डिता⁶ ज्ञः ॥ [9*] नरसखत-
- 10 नयापतिन्नेन्द्रस्त्रिभुवनगीतगुणास्त्रिलोचनश्च [1*] मथितजलनिधिश्च

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 11 यत्र जातः[1*] क्षितिपतिरप्रतिमोप्यगस्त्यशिष्यः ॥ [6*] विदलितवलयस्तुरे-
- 12 न्द्रमौलौ हतहरिहारविभूषितश्च यदुद्भूः [1*] कुरुपतिबल⁷तूलकालव⁸हि-
- 13 र्जितविजयश्च यदुद्भवो नरेन्द्रः ॥ [7*] चकर्त्त कश्चिन्निजमुत्तमांगं गुरु-
- 14 न्निजम् पालयितुं [य]दुद्भूः [1*] समस्तशास्त्रार्णवकर्णधारो यदुद्भवस्तुन्दर-
- 15 पाण्ड्यनामा ॥ [8*] यत्रोत्पन्ना राजसूयाश्वमेधैरिष्टाने-
- 16 कैर्देवभूयं प्रपत्ताः⁹ [1*] संख्यातीतास्तावर्वाभौमा नरेन्द्राः कस्ता-
- 17 न्मर्त्यः कृत्स्नशो वक्तुमीष्टे ॥ [9*] तत्रासीदरिकेसरी नरपतिर्विशो व-
- 18 शी श्रीनिधिस्तत्पुत्रो जटिलस्तुतो[5*]स्य नृपतिः[1*] श्रिराजासिंहः कृती [1*] प्राज्ञः[1*] स्फी-
- 19 तपराक्रमो वरगुणस्तस्यात्मजस्तत्सुतः[1*] श्रीमारः[1*] श्रवणीयकीर्तिरजि-
- 20 तः[1*] श्रीवल्लभो भूपतिः ॥ [10*] मायापाण्ड्यं केरळं सिंहळेन्द्र¹⁰जित्वा संखे⁸

Third Plate : First Side.⁹

- 21 पल्लवम् वल्लभश्च [1*] एकच्छत्राम् मेदिनीमेकवीरः[1] प्रारक्षद्यः भ्रे-
- 22 मपात्रम् प्रजानाम् ॥ [11*] नृपकिरीटमणिद्युमणिप्रभाविसरभासितपादस-
- 23 रोरुहः [1*] वरगुणस्य विभोरनुजः कृती नरपतिस्तनयो[5*]स्य परान्तकः ॥ [12*]
- 24 खरगिरिमभितः करीन्द्रयू¹⁰थं रिपुनृपशोणितशोणदन्तमाजौ [1*] करकलितक-
- 25 पाणमा¹¹त्र¹²सैन्यस्सरभसमुग्रमुदग्रमग्रहीन्यः¹⁰ ॥ [13*] अग्राहारै-

¹ On the right side of the ring-hole, is marked the figure '2' in Tamil.

² Read °माललम्बे.

³ The punctuation at the end of complete verses, here and *passim* is made by an ornamental mark.

⁴ Here and in other places, the writer has changed the *anusvāra* into the nasal of the class following.

⁵ Read दशाननं सन्धि°.

⁶ The letter त्रा is corrected from तो.

⁷ Read प्रपत्ताः.

⁸ Read संख्ये.

⁹ On the right of the ring-hole is the figure '3' in Tamil.

¹⁰ Read °मग्रहीन्यः.

26 रप्रमेयैरनेकैर्देवस्यानैरस्तसमूह्यैस्त¹टाकै-

27 : [1*] पू[र्ण]म् पुण्यैर्यस्वयम्² पुण्यकीर्तिश्चक्रे चक्रचक्रवर्ती ध[रा]-

28 याः [॥१४*] श्रीरिव श्रीनिवासस्य पौलोमीव शतक्रतोः [1*] [श्री]वानवन्महा-³

29 देवी देवी तस्य प्रभोरभूत् ॥ [१५*] तस्याज्ञात[:*] श्रीनिधेस्तस्य देव्याम्

30 पुत्रश्शत्रुक्षत्रवित्रासनश्रीः [1*] प्रज्ञाशौर्यस्थैर्यैर्योमि-

Third Plate : Second Side.

31 जात्यत्यागाधारः पार्थिवो राजर्षिहः ॥ [१६*] राजन्वती भवति यम्

32 पतिमेत्य पृथ्वी देवन्दि⁴ वाकरनिशाकरवंशकेतुम् [1*] आर्त्ति[म्]⁵

33 परामरिकदम्⁶वकमर्थिसार्थम्⁶ पूर्त्तिन्नयन्तमखिला हरितश्च कीर्त्तिम् ॥ [१७*] ना-

34 लम् भवन्ति निखिलार्त्तिजनाभिलाषास्त्यागस्य यस्य रिपवो[ऽ*]पि पराक्रमस्य [1*] की-

35 रैस्समस्तभुवनानि समुल्लसन्त्या वाचस्पतेरपि व-

36 चांसि गुणस्तुतीनाम् ॥ [१८*] अर्थैरनर्थैरहितैरखिलान्द्वि-

37 जेन्द्रानत्यर्थमर्थैरहितैरहिताननर्थैः [1*] आपूरयन्दशदिशोप्यम-

38 लैर्यशोमिष्यो[ऽ*]यम् मुनक्ति भुवनम् भरतानुभावः ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान् [कौ]-

39 [शि]कवंशजदश्रुतधन[:*] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मात्म[ज][:*] श्रेष्ठश्शिलवताम् परान्त-

40 क इति प्रख्यातनामो[ज*]ज्वलः [1*] तस्यास्ति प्रथितान्वयः पृथुयशाः प्रा-

Fourth Plate : First Side.⁷

41 ज्ञः कृतज्ञः कृती राज्ञः प्रा[ज्य]गुणः प्रभूतविनयः प्रेमैकपात्रम् प्रभोः ॥ [२०*]

42 पौत्रस्त्रैयेकघातः⁸ परहितनिरतो भास्कराख्यस्य यो[ऽ*]भूद्विद्यानद्या-

43 [ः] पयो[धि]र्विविधनुषजनप्रार्थनापारिजातः [1*] पुत्तुरातोदयानाम्⁹

44 पुरुतरतपसा¹⁰कुटिकैशिकानां श्रेष्ठस्य श्रेष्ठि-

45 नाम्नश्श्रुतविनयनिधेः श्रीनिधेर्यश्च नसा ॥ [२१*] आग्निवेश्य-

46 कृतं क[रु]प[म]नरूपं यस्य पूर्वजाः [1*] प्रतिष्ठाम् भूतधारिण्यामनयन्वेद-

47 पारगाः ॥ [२२] मौदिल्यानां स्यन्दनग्रामजानाम् मुख्यः ख्यात[:*] स्फटि[वृ]त्ताभि-

48 जात्यः [1*] श्रीमान्धीमान्कीर्त्तिमानूरशर्मा धर्माधारो यस्य मातामहो[ऽ*]भूत्

49 ॥ [२३*] विद्या वृत्तं विनयविभव[:*] श्लाघनीवा¹⁰ च लक्ष्मीर्लक्ष्मीभर्तुश्चरणकमला-

¹ Read संख्यैस्त°.

² Read व्यैस्वयम्.

³ The length of *ka* is inserted above the letter.

⁴ Read पृथ्वी देवं दि°.

⁵ Read *anusvara* in place of *m*.

⁶ The *ā*-sign of जे is at the end of the previous line.

⁷ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '4' in Tamil.

⁸ Read त्रयैक°.

⁹ Read °नामुत्तर°.

¹⁰ Read श्लाघनीया.

TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A).

ii a.

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Fourth Plate : Second Side.

- 50 संगिनी चित्तवृत्तिः [1*] नित्योत्तुंगश्चाचिरभिजनः शाश्वती कीर्तिरुच्चैः
 51 प्रज्ञा चेति प्रथितयशसो यस्य वंशव्रतानि ॥ [२४*] ¹वृत्ताविदातो विन-
 52 यैकपात्रम् प्रभुः पिता यस्य पितामहश्रीः [1*] प्राज्ञः प्रसन्नः² प्रथिताभि-
 53 जाल्यः] श्रीश्रेष्ठिशर्मा श्रवणीयकीर्तिः ॥ [२५*] पाण्ड्यान्ववायतिलका-
 54 त्पुण्यश्लोकात्परान्तकात् [1*] वीरनारायणाद्देवाद्वीराद्वीमत्-
 55 पुरोगमः ॥ [२६*] वटकळवल्³ राष्ट्रतो³ [5*] ग्रहारम् महितगुणम् मणियाच्चिना-
 56 मधेयम् [1*] अलमत मतिमाननूनसारम् विहिततिचैचुटर्मंगलाभि-
 57 धानम् ॥ [२७*] स राजा रञ्जिताशेषभूचक्रशक्रविक्रमः [1*] षोडशे राज्य-
 58 वर्षे स्वे सादितारातिमण्डलः ॥ [२८*] राजर्तिहकुळकी⁴ त्त्युक्ते] रा-

Fifth Plate : First Side.⁴

- 59 द्वे प्रतिष्ठितम् [1*] चू⁵लाख्योज्वलं⁵ ग्राममा[व]सन्नमरोपमः ॥ [२९*] अ-
 60 नूनलक्ष्मी⁶ अ⁶लुटभाजम् ⁷रभिधानमाजम् [1*] कारा-
 61 णेममीयाट्टियुतं समस्तन्निरस्तपृथ्वीवलयोपसर्गः ॥ [३०*] करे-
 62 [णु]सञ्चारविभक्तसीमाचतुष्टयस्तुष्टिकरप्रजानाम्⁸ [1*] स ब्रह्मदेय-
 63 स्थितिमम् बु⁹पूर्वन्दिजाय तस्मै सकलं समग्रम् ॥ [३१*] वि-
 64 हितमन्दरगौरवमंगलाह्वयविराजितमग्रहरं¹⁰ वरं [1*] स-
 65 मदिशत्स परान्तकशर्मणे ¹¹निरुप[म*]म् नृपतिर्नयकेतनः ॥ [३२*] धर्मो-
 66 पदेष्टा नृपतेरमुष्य मन्त्री कविश्रीनिधिरत्रिगोत्रः [1*] विज्ञप्तिरस्याहतस-
 67 ततन्तुस्तुंगाभिजाल्यो जटिलो[5*]जनिष्ट ॥ [३३*] श्रीमारवर्मणस्तस्य भृत्यः
 68 क्षत्रशिखामणेः [1*] ¹²क¹²न्तम¹²कोनाह्वयो[5*]स्याभूराज्ञप्ति¹²रमलान्वयः [३४*]

Fifth Plate : Second Side.

- 69 की¹³वेम्पनाटाभिजनस्य पुत्रो नक्ककुमानित्यवदातनाम्नः [1*] कूरासज-
 70 न्मा सचिवो नृपस्य नाथः करिण्या[1*] कुटिकावलासीत् ॥ [३५*] नक्ककाटस्स कोन्वे-
 71 लान्पटारबोल्याह्वयः¹³ [1*] इत्येते गणकाश्चान्न करिणीभ्रमणे[5*]भव-

¹ Read वृत्ता°.² Read प्रसन्नः.³ राष्ट्रतः has evidently to be understood in the sense of राष्ट्र.⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '5' in Tamil.⁵ Read °ज्वलं.⁶ Read लक्ष्मीर⁶.⁷ The u-sign of ⁷ is written like that used in ⁷.⁸ Read °चतुष्टयं तुष्टिकरः प्रजानाम्.⁹ Read म्बु पूर्व द्वि°.¹⁰ °मग्रहरं is used for °मग्रहार for the sake of the metre.¹¹ Read निरुपमं.¹² Read °स्याभूराज्ञप्ति°.¹³ Read °ल्याह्वयः.

- 72 तः ॥ [३६*] पातप्रसन्न^१मनसस्सुकृतम्ममेति सो[५*]यं समस्तवसुधाधिप-
 73 वन्दनीयः [१*] वद्धाञ्जलिः प्रतिदिनम् प्रणमत्यशेषानागामि-
 74 नः क्षितिपतीनभिमानमेरुः ॥ [३७*] विदितसकलवांन्म]य-^३
 75 स्य विष्णोर्विनयनयप्रभवस्य पूर्वजो यः [१*] अरचयदतुला-
 76 मिमाम् प्रशस्तिम् मधुरगुणस्य सखा स वासुदेवः ॥ [३८*] स्वस्ति श्री [॥*]
 77 திருவொடுந் தெள்ளமிர்த[த்*]தொடுஞ் செங்கதிரொளிக் கௌஷு-ஹத்தொடும் அ-
 78 ருவிமதக் களிறொன்றொடுந் தொன்றி அரனவிர்சடைமுடி விற்றிருந்-
 79 த வெண்டிங்கள் முதலாக வெளிப்பட்ட[ட]து நா[ற்]றிசைலர் புகழ்நீரது நா-

Sixth Plate : First Side.⁴

- 80 னிலத்திலை⁵ பெற்றது ஹாரஜீரஜாடிகளால் நெர ஹு-ஹதிக்கப்பட்டது வி-
 81 ரவலர்க் கரியது ஜீநஜீயஸாஸநத்தது பொருவருஞ்சிர் அ-
 82 கத்தியனை வுரொஹிதனாகப் பெற்றது ஊழிஊழிதொறு முள்ள-
 83 து நின்ற ஒருவனை உடையது வாழியர் பாண்டியர் திருக்குல மி-
 84 (ற்)தனில் வந்துந் தொன்றி வானவெல்லைவரைத் தாண்டும் மலை(க்)கடல் [க]-
 85 டைந் தமிழ்து கொண்டுந் நானிலத்தொர் விஷயப்(ப்)பட
 86 நாற்கட லொருபக லாடிஉம் மறுகி[டு]லாளி மணிமு-
 87 டிஒடு சங்கவெள்வளைத் தரத்தும்⁷ நிலவுலகம் வவஞ்-
 88 செய்துந் நிகரில் வென்றி அமரர்க்குப் பலமுறைஉ[ந்]⁹
 89 தூதுய்த்தும் வாகஸாஸந ஞரம் வவ்விஉஞ்⁹ செம்மணிப் பூனோடு
 90 தொன்றித் தென்றமிழின் கரைகண்டும் வெம்முனை வெவொன்று விட்டும்
 91 விரைவாவிந் கடல் மிட்டும் பூழியனெனப் பெய ரெய்திஉம்⁹ பொர்(க்)-⁸
 92 க்குன்றாயிரம் மிகிஉம்⁹ பாழியம்பாயினி னிமிர்ந்தும் பஞ்ச-
 93 வனெனும் பெயர் நிநீஉம்⁹ வளமதுரைநகர் கண்டும் மற்றதற்கு மதி-

Sixth Plate : Second Side.¹⁰

- 94 ள் வகுத்தும் உளமிக்க மதிஅதன லொண்டமிழும் வடமொழி-
 95 உம்⁹ பழுதறத் தானாராய்ந்து பண்டிதரில் மெந்தொன்றிஉம்⁹ மா-
 96 ரதர் மலைகளத் தவியப் பாரதத்திற் பகடொட்டிஉம்⁹ விஜயனை
 97 வவ-ஹாப நிக்குஉம்⁹ வெந்தழியச் சுரம் பொ[க்*]கிஉம்⁹ வசைஇல்¹¹ மாக்-
 98 கயல் புவி சிலை வடவரை நெற்றிஇல் வரைந்துந் தடம்பூதம் பணி [கொ]-
 99 ண்டு தடாகங்கள் பல திருத்திஉம்⁹ அடும்பசி நொய் நா[ட]கற்[றி]
 100 அம்பொற் விசுமுயரிஉந்⁹ தலைஆலங்கானத்திற் மன்னொக்க
 101 மிருவெந்தரைக் கொலைவாளிற் மலை துமித்துக் குறத்தலை[யி]ன்
 102 கூத்தொழித்தும் ஜஹாஹாரந் தமிழ்ப் படுத்தும் ஜய-ஹாப-ஹிச் ச-
 103 ங்கம் வைத்தும் ஜஹாராஜரும் ஸாஹு-ஹௌஜிரு[ஃ*] ஜஹிஜ்ஜுஹ் காத்-

¹ Read °मवन्.

² Read °प्रसन्न.

³ Read वाङ्मय°.

⁴ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '6' in Tamil. The figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle of double lines.

⁵ Read °திலை.

⁶ Read மறுவிலொளி மணிமுடியொடு. The letters லொளிமணிமு are written over an erasure.

⁷ Read தரித்தும்.

⁸ Read பொற்குன்றாயிரம் வீசியும்.

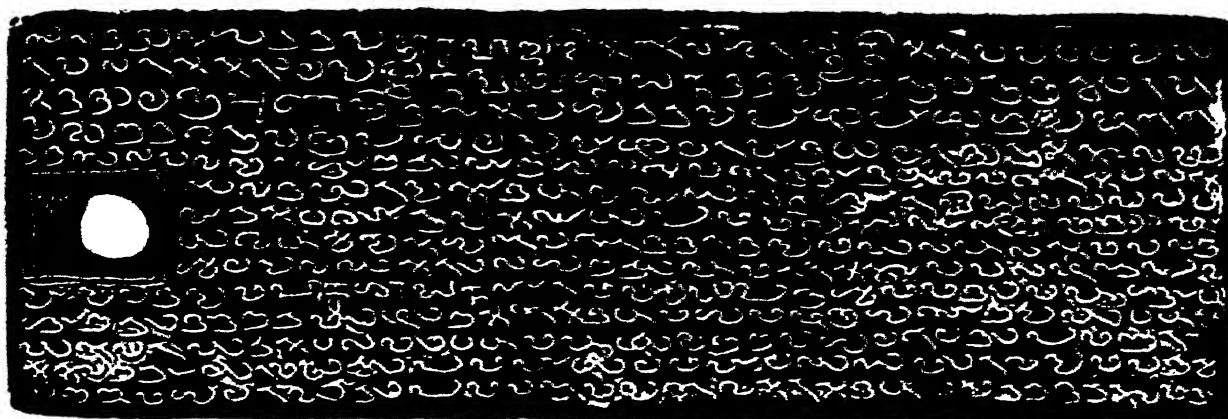
⁹ Read உம்.

¹⁰ Round the ring-hole is marked a rectangle in double lines.

¹¹ Read னில்.

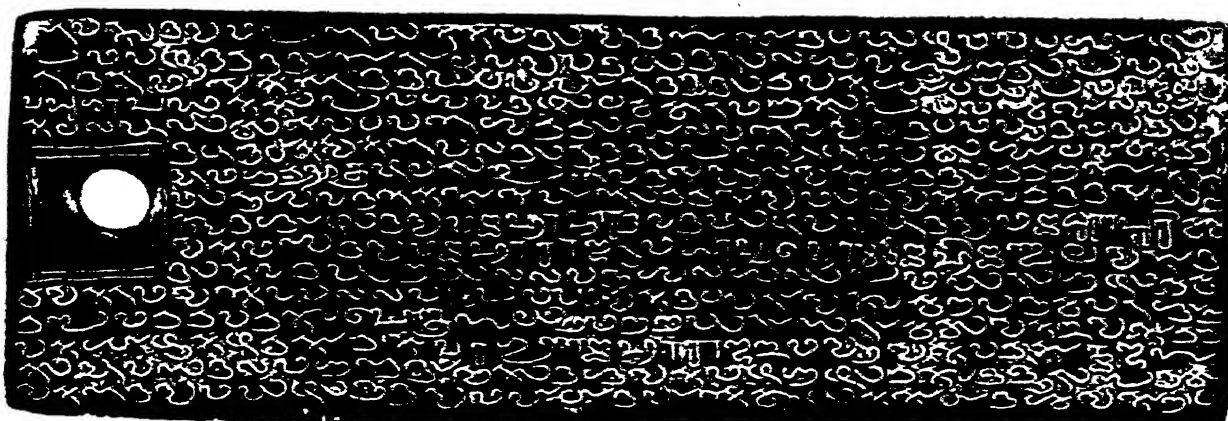
TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(A).

vi a.



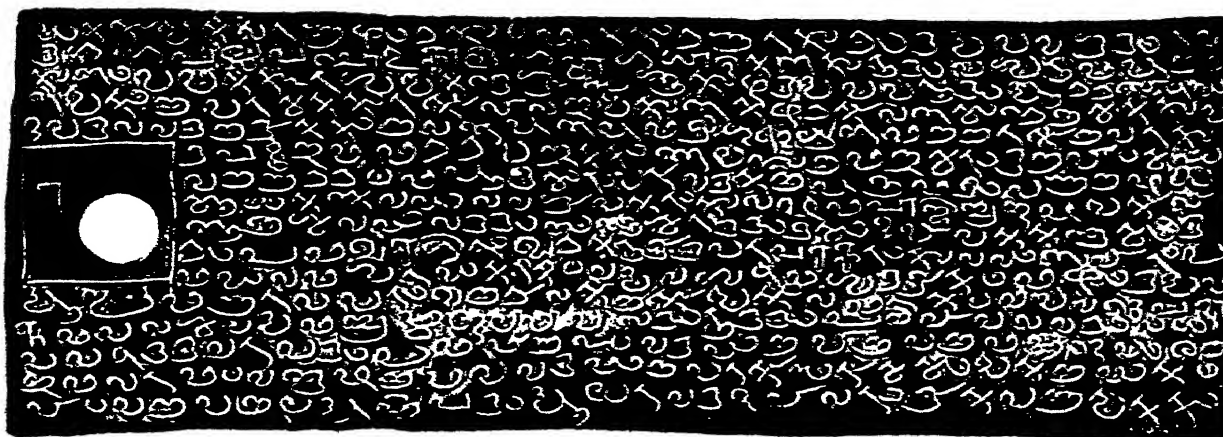
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vi b.



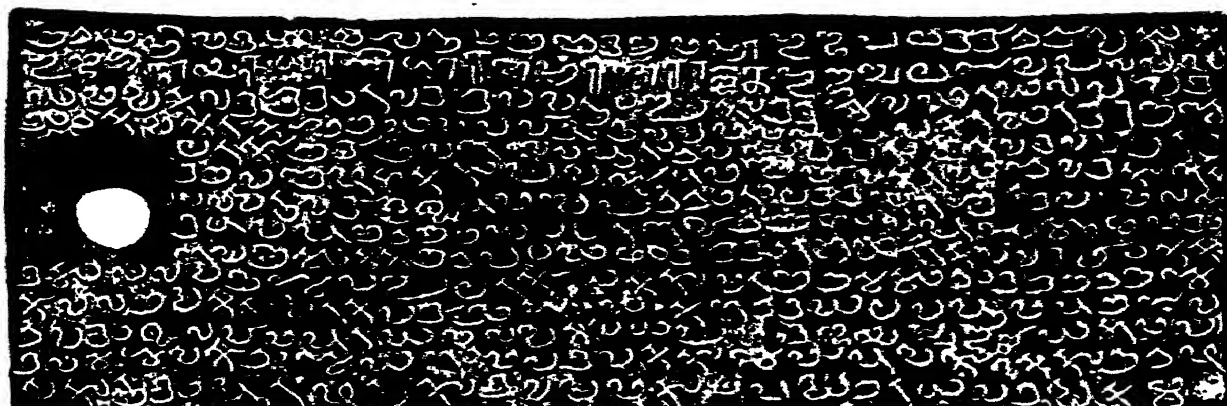
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vii a.



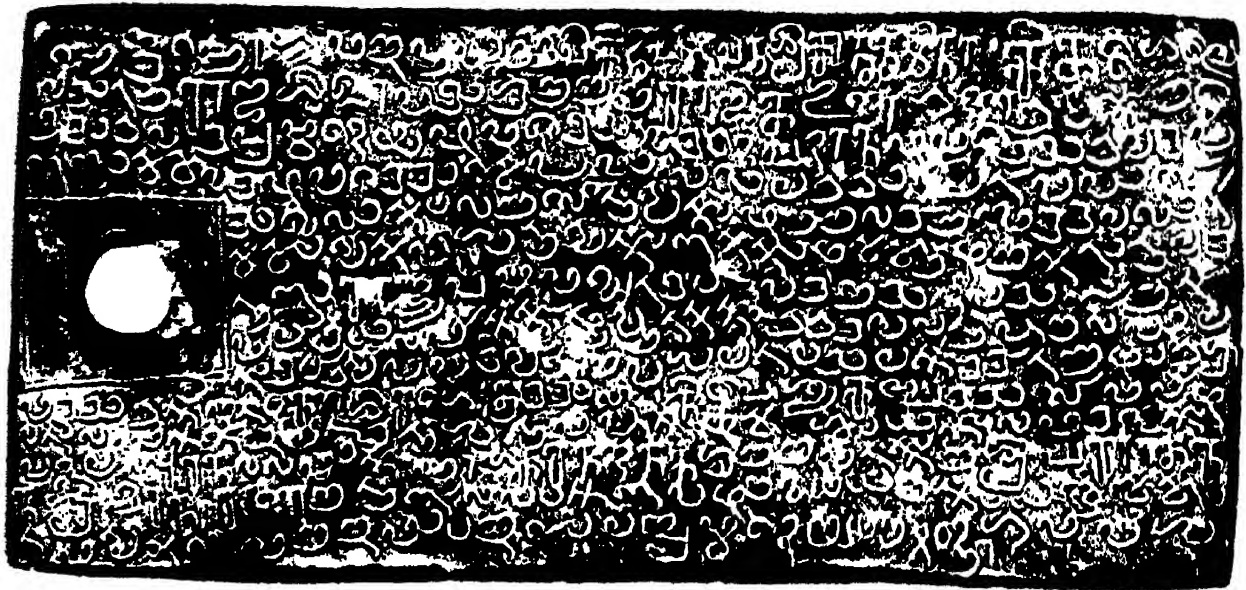
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vii b.



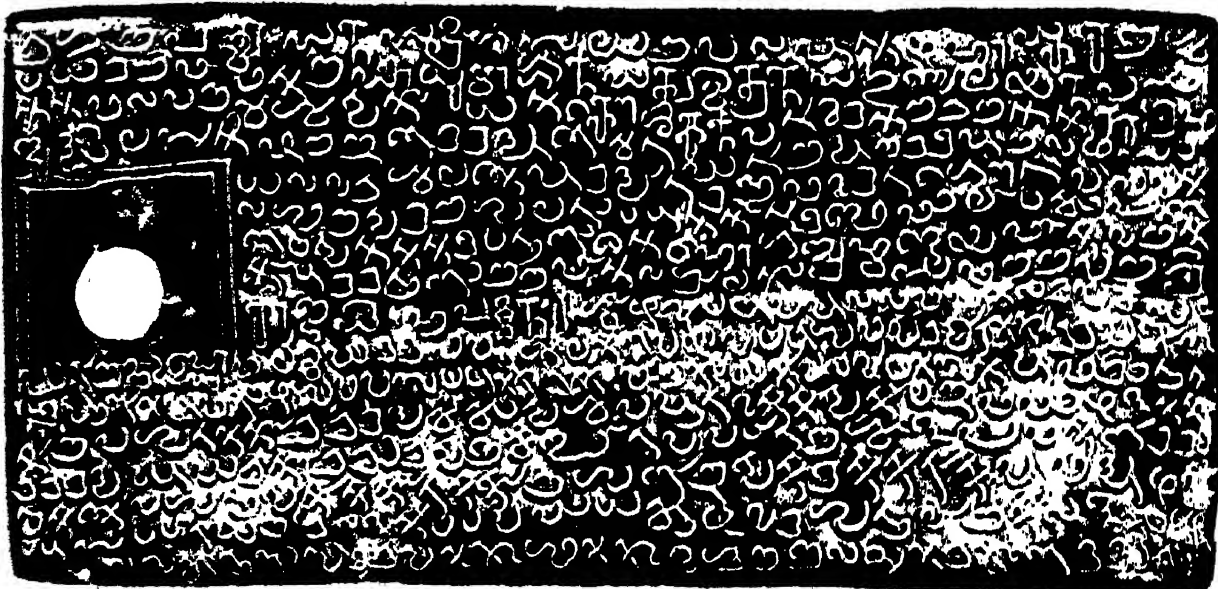
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viii a.



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viii b.



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- 104 திகந்தபின் வில்லவனை நெல்வெலிடம்¹ விரிபொழி[ற்]ச்
 105 சங்கரமங்கைப் பல்லவனைஉம்¹ புறங்கண்ட² பரங்குசன் பஞ்சவர் தொன்-
 106 றலு[ம்*] மற்றவற்கு வளதருனின மன்னபிரா னிராசசிங்கனுங் கொற்ற-
 107 வ[ர்*]க டொடிகழற்காற் கொ வரமணலிஹாராஜனும் ஆங்கவற் காத்தஜை-
 108 கி அவனிதலம் பொறை தாங்கித் தெங்கமழ் பொழிற் குண்ணூரிவஞ் சி-
 109 ங்களத்தும் விழிஞத்தும் வாடாத வாகை சூழிக் கொடாத செங்கொண்ட[ர்]

Seventh Plate : First Side.³

- 110 லிக் கொங்கலர்பொழிற் சூடமுக்கிற் பொர்குறித்து வந்தெதிர்ந்-
 111 த மஹவஜுவொகாதிஹமயாடிகள் குருதிப் பெரும்புனற்
 112 குளிப்பக் கூர்வெங்கணைதொடை னெகிழ்த்துப் பருதி ஆற்றலொடு வி-
 113 ளங்கின பாசக்கிரகொலாலனுங் குரைகழற்கா லரை சிறைஞ்சக் குவ-
 114 லையதலந் தனதாக்கின வரைபுரையு மணிரெடுந்தொன் மன்னர்கொன் வரகு-
 115 ணைவழி-ஹும் மற்றவனுக் கிளையனான மனுசரிதன் வாட்சடை-
 116 யன் பொற்றடம்பூண் சிரிபராந்தகன் புனைமணிப் பொன்முடி-
 117 சூழிக் கைநிலந்தொய் கரிசுலமும் [வ]ராஜபுரமுங்⁴ காலா-
 118 னஞ் செந்நிலத்தி னிலஞ்செரத் திண்கிலைவாய்க் கணை சித்-
 119 திஉம்¹ வாயிரிஇம்⁵ கருதாதவர் [வ]ரகரிசுலநிறை வாரிஉ-
 120 ம் நிலம்பெர் நிகர் கடந்துந் நெடும் பெண்ணாகட மழித்தும்
 121 ஆலும் பொர்ப்பரி ஒன்ற லகன்கொங்கி லமர் கடந்துந் டெவலா-
 122 நம் பல செய்தும் ஸ்ரீஹுடெயம் ப[வ] திருத்திஉந்¹ நாவலந்திவடி-
 123 ப்படுத்த⁶ நரபதிஉம்¹ வானடைந்தபின் வானவன்மஹாடெவி என்-
 124 னு மலர்மடந்தை முன் பயந்த மினவர்கொ னிராசசிங்கன் விகட்-
 125 வாடவ னவனெய் அஹிவதி ஆயிரந்தலையா லரிதாகப்பொறுக்கி-

Seventh Plate : Second Side.

- 126 ன்ற மஹிமண்டலப் பெரும்பொறை தன் மஹா ஹுஜவகுத்தாற் றுங்கி
 127 ஹுஜமநாய[க] யாணியாரண ஹாணராஜிக ஹுஜவகுனாய் உலப்பி-
 128 ⁷நிமங்கலத் தெதிர்ந்த தெவ்வுருட லுகுத்த செந்நிர் நிலப்பெண்-
 129 ணிற் கங்கராகமென சிவப்பாணி தந்தும் மடைப்பகர்நிர்[த]ஞ்சை-
 130 யர்கொன் தானைவரை கைப்பூரிற் படைப்பரிசாரந் தந்து[பொ]தத்
 131 தன் பணை முழக்கிஉந்¹ கொடுமபை மாநகர் நிறைந்த குரைக-
 132 டல்ப் பெருந்தானை இடுமபைஉந்¹ நிரியத் த[னி]ரனெனைய மெவ்[கொ]-
 133 ண்டும் புனற் பொன்னி வடகரைஇம்⁵ பொழில் புடைசூழ் மதி-
 134 ள் வஞ்சிக் கனற்பட விழித்தெதிர்ந்த வீரர் கவந்த மாடக் க-
 135 ண் சிவந்துஞ் செவலுயர்[கொ]ழிக் கும[ர]னெனச் சீறித் தென்றஞ்சை
 136 காவலனது கரிசுரகபதாதி வு[வ]ு களத் தவியப் பூம்புன [ன]வ-
 137 த்பதிஇவ்⁵ வாய்புரவி பலங் காட்டிஉம்¹ விஜயபூஜை விசும் ப-
 138 ணைவச் செங்கொ றிசைவிளிம் பணவக் குசைமாவுங் கொலைக் குன்றமு-
 139 ங் குருதிஆரமுங் குணந்தும் கூடுவபூ-ஹை ரடிவணங்க ி-

Eighth Plate : First Side.⁸

- 140 ஹெடிஹொஹ மனுஹித்த விகடவாடவந் ஸ்ரீகாதுந் மிதாங்கிகடுஸெடு-
 141 ந்திரன் ஸாஜஸிவாமணி தென்னன் ஸாஜிகமஹண னங்கொன் எ-

¹ Read y for உ.

² The syllable ம has been inserted so close to பு that the உ-sign of the latter is not clearly seen.

³ To the right of the ring-hole in the figure '7' in Tamil and both the figure and the ring-hole are enclosed in a rectangle.

⁴ Read ஸ்ரீடி.

⁵ Read யி for இ.

⁶ Read டெத்த.

⁷ The letter தி may also be read as லி.

⁸ To the right of the ring-hole is the figure '8' in Tamil and both the ring-hole and the figure are enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

- 142 ண்ணிமந்த¹வ்ருஷ்டெயமும் எண்ணிமந்த டெவடாநமும் எண்ணிமந்த ப-
 143 ள்ளிச்சந்தமும் எத்திசை² மினிதியற்றி உரம்பிலொ-
 144 தி ஒலிகடல்பொ லொருங்கு முன்னந் தானமைத்த வலி ரா-
 145 சசிங்கப்பெருங்குளக்கிழ்ச் சூழனக ரிருந்த-
 146 ருளி ராஜிவஷ-ம் இரண்டாவத னெதிர் பதினான்கா-
 147 ம் யாண்டில் மாக் கொழுநூர்க்கூற்றத்து வருபுனல் மிய்-
 148 குண்டாற்றுப் [பு]த்தூரெனப் பெயரெய்திய கொத்தார்பொழிற்முரா-
 149 மத்திற் கொமர கௌஸிக மொகூத்தி லாஜிவெஸுகூத்தி லொம்பாழ்-
 150 வரில் மிக்கொ னுயர்தரு பெரும்புகழ்ச் செட்டிகுலமதலை கு-
 151 வ்லையவாந் நலமிகு ஖ாஷாநாநந் தென்னவர்கொன் ஸ்ரீபராந்தக-
 152 ந் ஸ்ரீவிநாநாந னருளால் வடகளவழிநாட்டின்கட் டிசைச்சட-
 153 ர்மங்கலமென்னு மிடனுடைய வ்ருஷ்டெய மெகவொமமாப்பெ-

Eighth Plate : Second Side.³

- 154 மறென் பதாவந வஜுஸனாயின பல[ர்*]புகழ் ஖ாஷாந்செ-
 155 ட்டிதன் மாமகன் ஸாய-ஊ-ந் வஜுவிதந் வஜு-ஊனாயந் படை-
 156 க்கமலவனச் செங்குடி கௌஸிகந் பராந்தகன் மனக் கந-ஊ-ஊ-
 157 ஸ-ஊயனாகி முன்னுரைத்த அரைசர்பிரான் அந்தண்புனலழகுட்-
 158 டில நற்செய்கைபுத்தூரதனை மந்தரமௌரவமங்க-
 159 லமென்று தன் பெயரிட்டுக் க[ர]ராண்மை மியாட்சி உள்-
 160 ளடங்கக் கண்டருளி ஏகவொம வ்ருஷ்டெயமாக நன்கு
 161 கொடுத்தருளினன் [||*] மாகந் தொய் குடை மன்னவன் ஸ்ரீ-
 162 ராஜஸிம்ஹவஜு-ஊ || சொழநாட்டுப் புல்வமங்கலத்து சடைய-
 163 பிரான் ஹட்டஸோமயாஜி⁴ விண்ணப்பஞ் செய களவழிநாட்டு வெம்பற்றூர்க் கூற்றங்-
 கொன-
 164 ணை ஆளாகவும் கிழ்வெம்பனிட்டுக்⁵ கூர்க்குமாணை குடிகாவல் நாயகனாகவும் திருக்-
 165 கானப்பெர்க்கூற்றத்துச் சிறுசெவ்வூர் நக்கங்காடனும் மிழலைக்கூ-
 166 ற்றத்து நடுவிற்கூற்றிற் றஞ்சலூர்ப் படாரஞ்சொலைஉம்⁶ களாத்தி-
 167 ருக்கைப் பெருங்காக்கூர்க்கொன் லௌனாநுங் கணக்கராகவும் அழ[ன]-
 168 ட்டுனட்டார் நின் மெல்லை காட்டப் பிடிசூழ்ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை கிழெ-
 169 ல்லை சுருளிஆற்றுக்கு மெக்குந் தென்னெல்லை கற்குளத்தில⁷

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

(Verse. 1.) The ocean, in whose rows of bounding disturbed waves, as in a dancing hall, are (*seen*) like gems the sun, the stars and the moon, even when agitated at the end of the *Kalpa*, bore the form of his foot-stool.⁷

(V. 2.) (*Victorious*) was the family of him whose prowess had filled the earth and was a sun (*in destroying*) the night (*viz.*) the great heroism of its enemies. The kings of great glory and merited fame born in this (*family*), held the earth as their legally married wife.

¹ Read வ்ருஷ்டெயம்.

² Read யு for உ.

³ The ring-hole is enclosed in a double lined rectangle.

⁴ Read ஹட்டஸோமயாஜி.

⁵ Read னுட்டுக்.

⁶ Perhaps one or more plates after this are missing.

⁷ The missing invocatory verses and the abrupt introduction of a king (perhaps named Pāṇḍya) whose greatness is described by verse 1, show that at least a single plate should have been lost, at the beginning. The submission of the ocean to the Pāṇḍyas was a family tradition on which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 73, foot-note 80; Compare V. 4 of the Vêliviluḍi grant, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 298.

(V. 3.) Of the kings born in this (*family*) who had destroyed all enemy kings and had their edicts established on the snowy mountain, the priest was the venerable Agastya.

(V. 4.) One (*of the kings*) born here, whose wealth was his honour, and who had killed the powerful demons in a battle between the gods and the demons, sat alone on the throne of the Lord of the gods (*i.e.*, Indra) in heaven brought down (*to earth*).

(V. 5.) Another wise king of right conduct, was an ambassador to secure victory for the gods; and (*still*) another of unopposed commands, caused the Ten-headed giant (*i.e.*, Râvâna) to sue for peace.

(V. 6.) (*Again*), in that family was born a king who was the husband of (Gangâ) the daughter of the friend of Nara (Arjuna) (*i.e.*, Vishnu), who (like Śiva) had three eyes (trilôchana)¹ whose virtue was praised by the three worlds, a matchless king who stirred the ocean and was a pupil of Agastya.

(V. 7.) (*Another*) born in that (*family*) was adorned with the necklace of Hari (*i.e.*, Indra) (*which he had*) captured (*from him*) after breaking (*his*) wristlet on the head of the Lord of gods (*i.e.*, Indra); still (*another*) king born in that (*family*) conquered Vijaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) and was the conflagration at the end of time to the cotton (*namely*) the army of the lord of the Kurus.

(V. 8.) Another (*king*) born in that (*family*) cut off his own head in order to save his master; and (*a king*) named Sundara-Pândya born in this (*family*) was a helmsman in the ocean of all Śâstras.

(V. 9.) Countless number of emperors and kings born in this race attained godhood having performed numberless Râjasûya and Âsvamedha sacrifices. Which mortal could describe them thoroughly?

(V. 10.) In that family was born king Arikêsa, the home of glory, who had controlled his passions. His son (*was*) Jaṭila. His son (*was*) the glorious (*and*) virtuous king Râjasimha. His son (*was*) the wise Varaguna of great prowess. His son (*was*) king Śrî-Mâra whose fame was delightful to hear and who was the invincible lord of wealth (Śrivalabha).

(V. 11.) He (*i.e.*, Śrî-Mâra) the matchless hero, the beloved of his subjects, having conquered in battle Mâyâ-Pândya, the Kêraḷa, the king of Simhala, the Pallava and the Vallabha, protected the earth under (*his*) one umbrella.

(V. 12.) His son, the younger brother of king Varaguna, was the virtuous king Parântaka, whose lotus-feet were brightened by the spreading lustre of the sun-like gems in the crowns of (*prostrating*) kings.

(V. 13.) He quickly captured in a battle near Kharagiri the powerful (*king*) Ugra who possessed a herd of strong elephants whose tusks were red with the blood of enemy kings with an army (*which was*) the only sword (*held*) in hand.

¹ It is not likely that here we have to take Trilôchana as a proper name. Pândya kings in general are mentioned in Vv. 4—9; and no particular person, excepting Sundara-Pândya of V. 8, is mentioned by name

(V. 14.) This emperor, himself of meritorious fame, caused the circle of the earth to be filled with holy boundless Brâhmin settlements¹, numerous temples and countless tanks.

(V. 15.) The wife of that king was the glorious Vânavanmahâdêvî; as Śrî (was) of Śrînivâsa (i.e., Vishnu) and as Paulômî (Śachî) (was) of Śatakratu (Indra).

(V. 16.) Of this queen was born to him, who was the abode of prosperity, the son, king Râjasimha who was the repository of intelligence, valour, stability, courage, nobility and liberality and who successfully scared away the heroism of (his) enemies.

(V. 17.) Having obtained him, the banner of (both) the (solar) (and the lunar) races, who caused the utmost grief to the host of enemy kings, satisfaction to the crowds of supplicants and fame (to reach) all directions, the earth (now) became (truly) possessed of a king.

(V. 18.) The requests of all supplicants are not enough for (i.e., to satisfy) his liberality; nor the enemies for his prowess; nor all the worlds for (his) lustrous fame; nor (again) the words of the Master of Words (i.e., Brihaspati) for praising (his) virtues.

(V. 19.) Dignified as Bhârata, he rules the earth filling all Brahmans with endless wealth, the enemies with ruin which fully deprives (them) of (their) wealth and the ten quarters with faultless fame.

(V. 20.) A great favourite of this lord, the king, was the glorious son of the illustrious Śrêshṭhisârman, who was famous by the well-known name Parântaka, who was born in the Kauśika lineage, was possessed of wealth which was learning, who was the best of the upright and of famous descent, who was widely known, wise, dutiful and virtuous, of excellent character and highly modest.

(V. 21.) This (Parântaka) who was ever devoted for the good of others, who was the ocean (into which emptied itself) the river of learning and who was the Pârijâta (celestial) tree (in fulfilling) the desires of all classes of wise men, was the grandson of him who was named Bhâskara, the sole repository of the Trayî (Vêdas), and the great-grandson of him named Śrêshṭhin who was the purest of the Śeṅkuṭi-Kauśikas of great religious austerity born in Puttâr, a mine of knowledge and modesty and the home of prosperity.

(V. 22.) His ancestors who had reached the (other) end of Vêdic (learning) established on this earth the extensive work called Kalpa written by Âgnivêśya².

(V. 23.) His maternal grandfather was the famous Ūrâsarman, the chief of the residents of Syandana-grâma, of the Maudgalya (lineage), who was of high birth and noble character, illustrious, intelligent, famous and a prop of virtue.

(V. 24.) Knowledge, noble conduct, wealth, modesty, praiseworthy riches, a conscience ever attached to the lotus-feet of the lord of Lakshmî (Vishnu), a descent ever high and pure, permanent fame and superior intelligence—these were the rule in the family of him (i.e., Ūrassarman) whose fame was widely known.

(Vv. 25—27.) His (i.e., Parântaka's) father, the wise and illustrious Śrêshṭhisârman, whose conduct was pure, who was as powerful and glorious as Pitâmaha

¹ The word *agrâhâra* is used in place of the usual word *agrahâra*, for the sake of the metre.

² Perhaps they were proficient in the *Âgnivêśya-kalpa*, the doctrine of medicine in which Âgnivêśya is said to have been a predecessor of Suśruta.

(Brahma) who was the one resort of modesty, intelligent, good and of noble descent whose fame was pleasant to hear and who was the leader of the wise, received from the heroic (*king*) Parântaka, lord Viranârâyana of meritorious fame and an ornament of the Pândya race, the Brahman village (*agrahâra*) named Maṇiyâchi of unfailing fertility, (*which was*) a famous *agrahâra* (situated) in Vada-Kalavali-râshṭra¹ re-naming (it) Tisâichchudarmangala.

(Vv. 28—32.) The same god-like king of unfailing prosperity, who pleased the whole circle of the earth and satisfied (*his*) subjects, who destroyed the host of enemies, who was the banner of polity, whose prowess was (*equal to*) that of Śakra (*i.e.*, Indra) and who removed the troubles (*of the people*) on the circle of the earth, in the 16th year of his reign, while camping² in the famous village named Chûlâl situated in the territorial division (*râshṭra*) called Râjasimhakulakkîl, gave with libations of water, to the Brahman, Parântakaśarman, the whole of the matchless and excellent *agrahâra* named Narcheygai-Puttûr situated in Ala-nâḍu which was famous with its (*second*) name Mandaragauravamangalam, as a *brahmadêya* property, together with (*its*) *kârânmai* and *miyâtchi* and with (*its*) four boundaries marked off by the circumambulation of the female elephant.

(V. 33.) The *viññapti* of this (grant) was the minister Jaṭila of respectable descent and a storehouse of prosperity who was the councillor of the king and a poet of the Atri-gôtra, who had performed (Vêdic) sacrifices.

(V. 34.) The *âjñapti* of this (grant) was the servant of that crest-jewel of warriors, the illustrious Mâravarmān, who was descended of a pure family and was called Kûṛṅgaṅgaṅga.

(V. 35.) A minister of the king, born at (*the village of*) Kûra, the son of a nobleman of Kîl-Vêmba-nâḍu and known by the famous name Nakkan-kumâṇ, was the master of the female elephant³ and the warden (*kudikâval*).

(V. 36.) Also Nakkan-Kâḍa, Kôn-Vêlân and he, called Paṭârañ-Chôla—these (*three*) accountants were appointed (to supervise) the circumambulation of the female elephant.

(V. 37.) Worshipped by all rulers, this (*king*) Abhimânamêru prostrates (*himself*) every day before all future kings with palms folded (*over his head*) (and saying) “Oh! pure-minded kings! Protect (*this*) my gift!”

(V. 38.) Vâsudêva, the friend of Madhuraguna and the elder brother of Vishnu who had studied the whole (*science of*) literature and was the birth place of modesty and intelligence, composed this matchless *prasasti*.

Tamil portion.

(Line 76.) Hail! Prosperity! May the prosperous family of the Pândyas live long—(*the family*) which came forth commencing with the white Moon enthroned on the brilliant

¹ *Râshṭratah* has evidently to be understood in the sense of *râshṭrâ*.

² The word *dvâsât* may be compared with *dvâsakât* or *vâsakât* which often occur at the beginning of copper plate inscriptions.

³ The significance of this attribute is not clear. The female elephant referred to is perhaps the one that circumambulated the village.

plaited hair of H a r a (*i.e.*, Śiva), and born (*from the milk ocean*) along with (*the goddess of*) prosperity, the pure ambrosia, the K a u s t u b h a (gem) of lustre like that of the Sun's and that single elephant (*the Airāvata*) of flowing rut;—a fit object of praise for the people of the four quarters which possesses the four (*divisions*) of the earth; which was justly extolled by B h â r a d v â j a and other (*sages*); which was beyond the reach of enemies; whose commands bore (*the seal of*) the double¹ fish; which had for its family priest (*the sage*) A g a s t y a of unequalled glory; which has been in existence through aeons and which counts (*among its members*) the one ever-lasting Being.²

(L. 84.) After many great kings and emperors born in this (*family*) who ruled right up to the boundaries of the heavens, (*such as*) he who churned the billowy ocean and obtained nectar; he who bathed in a single day³ in the four oceans, causing admiration to the people of the four (*divisions of*) the earth, who with a crown (*bedecked*) with gems of faultless lustre, wore (*also*) an anklet of white conch; he who went round the globe of the earth; he who sent ambassadors on several occasions to the gods of matchless victory; he who carried away the garland of P â k a ś â s a n a (*i.e.*, Indra); he who, appearing with ornaments of valuable gems, mastered the T a m i l (*language*) of the south; he who by throwing a sharp-edged javelin caused the quick return of the sea; acquired the name P û l i y a n; who gave away thousands (*of gifts*) of the golden hill (Mêru); he who stood firmly in the field (*of battle*) at P â l i and obtained the name P a n c h a v a n; he who founded the prosperous city of M a d u r a and built (*a surrounding*) wall for it; he who with the supreme intelligence of his mind, was profoundly versed in the beautiful T a m i l and S a n s k r i t and became the foremost among scholars; he who led the elephants in the B h â r a t a (*war*) so as to destroy the great charioteers in a hill-battle⁴; he who relieved V i j a y a (Arjuna) from the curse of Vasu; he who drove (*his enemies*) to the forest so that they might be scorched up and destroyed (*there*) and had the blameless (*royal emblems*) of the big fish, the tiger and the bow engraved on the top of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.*, the Himâlayas); he who, securing the services of huge giants, restored many tanks and relieved the country from disease and pinching hunger; he who with a dreadful sword cut off the heads of two kings that advanced against him in the battles at C h i t r m u y a r i and T a l a i y â l a n g â n a m and stopped the dance of their (*two*) headless trunks and he who had the M a h â b h â r a t a translated into T a m i l and had established the "Śaṅgam" in the town of M a d h u r a. had ruled the circle of the earth and had passed away.

(L. 104.) Then (*came*) P a r â n k u ś a, the king of the P a n c h a v a s (*i.e.*, Pāṇḍyas) who saw the back of the C h é r a king (*Villavan*) at N e l v ê l i and that of the P a l l a v a (*king*) at Ś a n k a r a m a n g a i of extensive pleasure gardens. His grandson (*was*) R â j a - s i m h a, the lord of kings. (*Next came*) king V a r a g u n a - M a h â r â j a whose feet (*wearing*) anklets are worshipped by monarchs.⁵ His son was P a r a c h a k r a k ô l â h a l a, who bore the burden of the earth, who wore (*a victorious garland of*) never-fading *vâgai*

¹ It is possible that *dvaya* here stands for *dhvaja* = banner.

² The reference is evidently to the story in the Hâlâsyapurâṇa of Śiva himself being counted as one of the Pāṇḍyas.

³ *I.e.*, day time.

⁴ [*Maharata* and *Malakalam* may preferably be left untranslated. The former may refer to a people and the latter to a field of battle. The passage when so altered would stand thus:—"Who led his elephants into Bhârata and caused the Mahârathas to be destroyed at Malai-kalam.—K.V.S.]

⁵ The relationship existing between Râjasimha and Varaguna-Mahârâja is not given.

(flowers)¹ at Kuṇṇâr, (*surrounded by*) gardens of delightful fragrance, at Śiṅgalaṃ and at Viḷiṇaṃ; who firmly wielded his sceptre and who shining with the prowess of the Sun and shooting from (*his*) bow-string sharp and deadly arrows on Gaṅga, Pallava, Chôḷa, Kalinga, Magadha and other (*kings*) that came to give battle and opposed (*him*) at Kuḍamûkkil of fragrant and blooming flower-gardens and made them bathe in a big river of blood.

(L. 113.) (*Next came*) Varaguṇavarman, the lord of kings, whose feet were worshipped by kings (*wearing*) jingling anklets on their legs, and who by (*his*) beautiful long arms resembling hills, made the earth his own.

(L. 115.) His younger brother, the glorious warrior Parāntakaṇ Śadaiaṇ, the king whose conduct (*followed the rules prescribed by*) Manu, who wore many golden ornaments, who put on a golden crown decorated with gems; who showered arrows from (*his*) powerful bow so that the elephant troops whose (long) trunks touched the earth, the horse battalions and the infantry (of the enemies) fell on the earth at (*the battle of*) Śeṇṇilaṃ; who captured at Kharagiri crowds of files of powerful elephants of enemy (kings) and won a battle at Nilambêr; who had destroyed the extensive Peṇṇâgaḍaṃ, who with the help of a single powerful prancing horse, won battles in the extensive Koṅgu (*country*); who performed many (*gifts of*) *dēvadāna* (*lands*) and restored many *brahmadēya* (*grants*) and who subdued the whole of India (*Nāvattivu*)², having also gone to heaven.

(L. 123.) The first son of the goddess of the (lotus) flower (i. e., Lakshmī) called Vānavanmahādēvi, was he the king of the Mīṇavar, (i. e., the Pāṇdyas) Rājasiṃha Vikāṭavâḍavaṇ³, who having himself borne (*easily*) by the strength of his broad shoulders, the great burden of the circle of the earth which the lord of serpents (i. e., Śeṣha) bears with much difficulty by his thousand heads, became distinguished as “the strong-armed that relieved the serpent Lord of (*the pain of*) carrying the earth”; who at Ulappinimaṇgalaṃ pierced the bodies of the enemies that attacked (*him*), and gave (*their*) blood, the superior (*position*) of becoming the scented cosmetics of the gooddess Earth, who sounded his drum when the king of the Tañjai (*country*) (*full of*) water flowing from sluices, ran away surrendering his arms, ‘at Naippûr which was filled with mountain-like battalions⁴; who commenced his battle⁵ at the big city of Koḍumbai where the assembled (*enemy's*) forces, vast like the roaring ocean, dispersed suffering affliction; whose looks caused (*the town of*) Vañji with walls surrounded on all sides by flower-gardens (*and situated*) on the northern bank of the Kâvêrî (*Pozṇi*) abounding in water to be consigned to flames, and whose eyes which became red (*with anger*) made to dance the headless bodies of the heroes that opposed him; who like Kumâra (Skanda) of the high cockflag, swelled with rage and displayed the strength of (*his*) galloping steeds by destroying in the battle at the beautiful and well watered town of Nâval the crowds of elephants, horses and foot-men of the lord of the southern Tañjai (*country*). (*His*) victorious flag reaching the sky, his sceptre wielded (*right*) up to the ends of quarters, acquiring the bridled horse, the chief mountain and the blood-red garland, was enjoying the pleasure of Mahêndra with his prosperous sons worshipping at his feet, the king Vikāṭavâḍava, the lord of Prosperity, who marked the chief of mountains with his fish

¹ I. e., ‘was victorious at’.

² The Jambudvīpa.

³ The great sub-marine fire to the ocean of his enemies.

⁴ The phrase *paḷai-ppariśāram tandu* has been tentatively translated ‘surrendered his arms’.

⁵ *Tāñjai-varai* has perhaps to be taken as an adjective qualifying Naippûr.

⁶ The phrase may also be interpreted as “having mounted on the back of his (elephant) Raṇōḍaya.”

emblem, the crest-jewel of kings, this lord of the south (*Tennan*), of many brilliant virtues having founded with pleasure in every direction numberless *brahmadēyas*, numberless *dēvadānas*, and numberless *pallichchandam*.

(L. 143.) Being pleased to stay in the town of Chūlāl (*situated*) in Rājasingaperuṅgūlam, abounding in wreath of water-lilies and resembling the noisy ocean which was formerly founded by himself—in the 14th year opposite the 2nd year of his reign, the Brāhman Bhāskaran-Śeṭṭi who was like the lotus-born (Brahmā) and was praised by all, the son of the virtuous Bhāskara, the chief of the noble and illustrious race of the Śeṭṭis, the foremost of Ombālvas of the Āgnivēśya-kalpa and the Komara-Kauśika-gōtra (living) in the village Kōttārpōlil¹ named Puttār in the watery Miyyundāru (district) (*which was included*) in the big (*district of*) Kōlūvūr-kūrram, having obtained as *ekabhōga* the *brahmadēya* consisting of the place (called) Tisaichchudarmangalam in Vada-Kalavali-nādu, by the grace of the Pāndya king the glorious Parāntakan śrī-Vīranāraṇa.

(L. 155.) The chief of kings mentioned above, the illustrious Rājasiṃhavarman, the sovereign whose umbrella touched the sky, desirous of doing some good to Parāntaka the famous son of Bhāskaran Śeṭṭi (*i. e.*, Śeṭṭi son of Bhāskara) who walked in the path of the virtuous, a Kauśika of Seṅguḍi (surrounded by) a forest of lotuses, the friend of the created beings and the home of good qualities, was pleased to kindly confer as *ekabhōga-brahmadēya* together with *kārānmai* and *miyātchi* (the village) Narcheygai. Puttār in Alā-nādu of beautiful streams of cool water which he was pleased to found calling it Mandaragauravamaṅgalam after his own name.

(L. 162.) The *vinṇappam* (of this grant) was Śadaiyapirāṇ Bhaṭṭasōmayājin of Pullamaṅgalam in Śōlā-nādu; the *ājñapti* (*āṇai-āl*) (of the grant) was Kūrraṅgōṇ of Vēmbarrūr in Kalavali-nādu; the chief warden (*Kudikāval-nāyakan*) was Kumān of Kūra in Kīl-Vēmbanādu and the accountants were Nakkān-Kādaṇ of Śīru-Śevūr in Tirukkānappēr-kūrram, Paṭṭarāṇ-Chōlai of Tuñjalūr in Nāduvir-kūrram (a sub-division) of Milalaik-kūrram and Kōṇ-Vēlāṇ of Peruṅgākkūr (near) Kalāttirukkai.

(L. 167.) The residents (*nāttār*) of Alā-nādu being appointed to mark the boundary line, the female elephant was led around and (the following) four big boundaries were thus (marked). The eastern boundary (was) to the west of Śuruliyaṅgu; the southern boundary (was) in Karkūlam.²

TEXT.³

[Metres: Vv. 1—4, *Anushtubh.*]

First Plate.

1 स्वस्ति⁴ [॥*] पत्मा⁵[सु]नपरिष्वंगप्रमदोत्पुष्पायु[धी]:⁶[॥*] विद्यायशोविमूती-

2 नैः पुष्पातु पुरुषोत्तम⁷: ॥—[१] अन्वयस्सुचिरं स्थेयाद⁸मृतां-

¹ [Mr. Venkayya has also treated *Kōttārpōlil* as a proper noun and as a surname of the village Puttār. I would prefer to read *Kōttārpōlil* instead of *Kōttārpōli* and take it as an adjunct to *grāma* (village) meaning "(surrounded) by a forest filled with bunches of flowers"—K.V.S.]

² The inscription is incomplete. One or more copper-plates must be missing.

³ From the original plates and a set of ink impressions prepared by the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁴ These two syllables are engraved on the margin of the plate opposite to line 4.

⁵ Read पद्मा.

⁶ Read °कायुधी । Perhaps the *visarga* after धी was meant for a दृष्ट.

⁷ The actual reading is 'यामृतां'

TWO PANDYA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM SINNAMANUR—(B).

i.

2
4
6
8

ii a.

10
12
14
16
18

ii b.

20
22
24
26
28

iii.

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32
34
36
38

- 3 शुभमुद्रवः [1*] सुरारिदर्पहन्तारो नरेन्द्रा यत्र जज्ञिरे ॥ [2*] சுருக-
 4 கிரண(ன்) னன்வயத்தொவணுன தழ்வகல வடோவேவத் த-
 5 ஸுமணத்தலை அழியச் சிலை குனித்து வடவரைபதுவலா-
 6 ரகுளிகை மணிக்கெண்டைப்பொற் குட்டியுந் தென்வரைம-
 7 சைக் குவோழைவநது திந்தமிழிற் செவி கழுவிபும் ஹரிஹய-
 8 நது ஹாரம் பூண்டு ஶீட-ஸைந மவனெ டெற்தஞ்¹ சர்வநாயவன்-
 9 திருமுடிமிசைத் தூணி பலபடத் தொனொச்சு¹ மொத மி-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 ன வெலெறித்தும் மொராரி² க்ருதச் செய்தும் ஹுதமணம்
 11 பணியாண்டும் ஹவநதும் பொது நிக்கபும் யானை யா³-
 12 ர மைய்யமிட்டு(ம்) மபரிம்த மதிரயங்கள் செய் தா-
 13 னமில் புகழ்ப் பாணுவஸத் தொலொகநாயர் பலர் கழி-
 14 ந்தபின் ஜமஜிதயஸொராஸிஜீ-பதவஜீ-³ மகனாகிப் ப-
 15 கை(ப்)ஹ-ஓவர் தலை பணிப்பப் பா⁴ஜெஸூன் வெளி[ற்]பட்டு⁴ கரிகெஸ-
 16 ரி கவலீஸினை கடுவ்யுவிசுரீந் ககா⁵கா⁵(ன்)னெனத் தன-
 17 க்ருரியன பல மணநாம முலகுமுழு தகந்தெத்தப் பரா-
 18 வனிபகுல மிறஞ்ச⁶ப் பாரகலம் பொது நிக்க ஶீராஸா⁷ரா
 19 திடாகல ஶீநவஷ-⁸[ம்*] பொழித[ற்]கு வலாஹகத்தின் வருகம் கொண்-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 20 டு காலாஹா மினிதெறி ஸாணு⁹ யுலகளித்து விரணு-
 21 மஹ-¹⁰ மிருகால் புக்கு மொஸஹவஸுத்துடக்கத்துக் ஹுரு[உா]-
 22 னம் பல செய்து வாஸவன் பொல விற்றிருந்தனன் வஸு-
 23 யாவதி ஶீரா¹¹வஜீ-¹²ன் [1*] மற்றவற்கு மகனாகி மதிபுரையுங் கு-
 24 டைநிழல் வற்ற மின்னி அவனி¹³ணு¹⁴ முடனும்-
 25 பி அருள்பயந்து கஜு¹⁵கத்தின் வருகம் கொண்டு கலிக¹⁶ஹ-
 26 ஷ மறநிக்கி அற்பமல்லா உ¹⁷வ¹⁸ கொடுத் தவனி¹⁹ஸ-²⁰ரி-
 27 டர்நிக்கி²¹க் கருதாது வந்தெதிரந்த கழல்வெந்தருட-
 28 னவிய மருதாரொடு குவனாமலையு மத்தவெழஞ் செல வந்திச்-

Last Plate.⁶

- 29 க்குக் கிழக்கும் வடவெல்லை கொற்றன்புத்தார் பகவதிகொ⁷இ⁸-
 30 க்குத் தெற்[கு*] மிவ்விதைத்த⁹ பெருநான்கெல்லையுட்பட்டது ஸவ்¹⁰-¹¹வனி-
 31 ஹாரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்து¹² மிதற்காணத்தி[ப்*]பட்டா னண்டனாட்டுக்
 32 குண்டீர்க்குற்றத்துக் குண்டீ ருத்தரமந்திரியாயின தாயன்
 33 சிங்கன் இதன் புறங்காவ வெண்பத்தைங்கலங் குடுக்க பது-
 34 து¹³ ¹⁴மாற்றிதனைக் காத்தார் [த*]¹⁵ன்¹⁶ மலரடி என் முடி மெலன என்று கொற்-
 35 மவனெய் பணித்தருளித் தெற்றெனத் தா¹⁷ஸாஸநஞ் செய்[வி]த்தான் [1*]

¹ Read யு for உ.

² Read னி for இ.

³ Compare with this metrical attribute जगदीश-
 यशोराशि, the similar attribute यशिवर्यहरणराजित
 applied to Rājāsīmha III in the Bigger Siṅṅamanūr
 plates, Text—line 127.

⁴ The letter त् is corrected from स.

⁵ Read மிதைஞ்ச-

⁶ How many plates may be missing before this
 cannot be determined.

⁷ Read ஓவிசைத்த.

⁸ Read ஓகுத்தோமி.

⁹ Read ஓபட்டது.

¹⁰ Read மத்தி.

¹¹ Read ஓதம்.

- 36 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसु[न्ध]राम् [1*] षष्ठी वर्षसहस्राणि
 37 विष्ठायाज्जायते कृमी । [1*] [३*] ब्रह्मस्वरत्षणादन्यत्पुण्यमूलन्न विद्यते [1*] तस्याति-
 38 [क्रमणादन्यत्पा]मूलन्न विद्यते [11*][१*] பாண்டி[ப்]பெரும்பண்ணகாரன் மகன் கரிகெவலரி
 எழுத்து |

TRANSLATION.

(V. 1.) Hail! May Purushôttama (*i.e.*, Vishnu) who wears his characteristic weapons² and whose hairs stand on end in the rapture of an embrace from the arms of Padmâ (*i.e.*, Lakshmi), profusely grant us knowledge, fame and prosperity.

(V. 2.) May the family prosper long, that which is produced from the nectar-rayed (Moon), in which were born kings who crushed the pride of the enemies of gods (*i.e.*, demons).

(L. 3.) After a number of kings of the Pândya family of endless fame (*born*) in the race of the Moon,—who drew their bow to cut off the heads of crowds of *Asuras* on the battle-front, to prevent the destruction of Âkhaṇḍala (*i.e.*, Indra); who decorated the adamant crest of the Northern Mountain (*i.e.*, the Himalayas) with the (royal) sign of the beautiful carp; who bathed their ears with the sweet Tamil of Kumbhodbhava (*i.e.*, Agastya), residing on the top of the Southern Mountain³; who wore the necklace of Harihaya (*i.e.*, Indra) and sat with him on one half of his throne; who raised (*their*) arms showering many (*arrows*) from (*their*) quivers on the sacred crown of Śurivalaiyavan; who threw the javelin in order to drive back the (*encroaching*) sea; performed a thousand sacrifices; exacted service from crowds of goblins; released the expanse of Earth of (*her*) common possession (*by kings*); bestowed on supplicants a thousand elephants and did many (*other*) astounding deeds—had passed away;

(L. 14.) there was seated on the (Pândya) throne like Vâsava (Indra), the king, the great lord Mâravarmaṇ,—who being the son of Jayantavarman whose great fame was sung by the world, burst forth causing the heads of hostile kings to tremble, (his) many characteristic titles (*such as*) Arikêśari, Asamasamaṇ, Alaṅghyavikramaṇ and Akâlakâlaṇ, being ravishingly proclaimed by the whole world, a host of enemy kings prostrating, released the extensive Earth of (*its*) common possession (*by other kings*), resolved to act in the fashion of the thunder cloud in raining gold on Brâhmanas and removed their distress; ascended the Tulâbhâra with pleasure, ruled the world offering protection to all, entered twice the (*womb of*) hiraṇyagarbha and made many other great gifts beginning with gôśahasra.

(L. 23.) And his son was who having immediately protected without a flaw the circle of the Earth brought (*her*) under the shade of his moon-like umbrella, who in giving forth benevolence resolved to act in the fashion of the wishing tree (*Kalpaka*), expelled completely the sins of the Kali (*age*), averted the misery of the gods of Earth (*i.e.*, Brâhmanas) by giving great wealth, who at Marudîr and Kuvalaimalai drove rutting elephants (*into the battle-field*) so that heroes wearing anklets who opposed, attacked or unwarily advanced and stood in his way became extinct, who

¹ Read रत्न.

² These are the conch, disc, club and the lotus.

³ The Podiyil hill in the Tinnevely district is said to have been the seat of Agastya.

(L. 29.) to the east of ; the northern boundary (*was*) to the south of the Bhagavatī temple of Korraṇputtūr. (*The land*) comprised within the thus-described four big boundaries was given away with all exemptions. Its *āṇatti* (Skt. *ājñapti*) was Tāyaṇ Śiṅgaṇ who was the *uttaramantri* of Kuṇḍūr (*a village*) in Kuṇḍūr-kūṛraṁ of Aṇḍa-nāḍu. The *puṇḍāval* to be given on this (*land*) is eighty-five kalam (*of paddy*).

(L. 34.) "The flower-like feet of those that protect this (*gift*) shall be on my crown": So saying, the king himself graciously ordered and had (*this*) copper edict executed at once.

[Verses 3 and 4 are the usual imprecations.]

(L. 38.) (This is) the signature of Arikēsaṛi, son of Pāṇḍi-Perumbāṇaikāraṇ.

FIVE CHOLA COPPER-PLATES FROM TIRUKKALAR.

No. 207.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.

These are five copper-plates belonging to the Pārijātavanēśvara temple at Tirukkalar, a village ten miles south-east of Mannārguḍi in the Tanjore district². A short notice of these appeared in Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1902—03, paragraph 17. The report also contains a list of 23 stone inscriptions which were copied from the same temple.³ These five copper-plates, strung on a copper-ring of 5" diameter, have flat rims, measure $1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ each, weigh together 566 tolas and have ring-holes bored in the middle of the left margin about an inch from the edge. They contain in them five complete inscriptions of different Chōla kings. The first of them, which is also the earliest, is a record of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndra-Chōla I who ascended the Chōla throne in A.D. 1012. It begins with the king's usual historical introduction commencing with the words கருமன்னி வளர, enumerates his conquests up to the capture of Kaḍāram, is dated in the 18th year of his reign and registers the extent of the *dēvadāna* lands belonging to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirukkalar which is said to be a village in Puṇḍāgarambai-nāḍu, a subdivision of Arumolidēva-valānāḍu.

Compared with the inscription of this king found at Tirumalai⁴, dated in the 13th year of reign and his Tanjore epigraph⁵, dated in the 19th year of reign, the present inscription furnishes a few differences in reading which are noticed in foot-notes.

The identification of all the place names occurring in the historical introduction has been made by Professor Hultzsch⁶, and it remains to note here only a few facts in this connection. Idaiturai-nāḍu which has been taken to be Yeḍatore, a small village in the Mysore district by Mr. Rice, has since been shown by Dr. Fleet to be identical with the

¹ *Puṇḍāval* is evidently the same as *puṇḍu* of the Guḍimallam plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 6, text—line 54).

² Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 280.

³ Nos. 642 to 655 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902. They belong to the reigns of the Chōla kings Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirāja, Rājarāja, Virarājendra and Kulōttuṅga, the Pāṇḍya kings Jaṭavarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrīvallabha and Māṇavarman Kulasēkhara and the Vijayanagara sovereigns Viruppanṇa and Vira-Bhūpati.

⁴ Edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. No. 20.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 230-1.

territorial division Eḍedore, two thousand, a tract of country lying between the rivers Kṛishṇā on the north and Tuṅgabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur district¹. The Kanyākumārī inscription of Vīrarājendra shows that Maṇṇaikaḍakkam is not to be identified with Maṇṇe in the Nelamaṅgala taluk of the Bangalore district but is the same as Mānyakhēṭa, which Rājendra-Chōla is said to have made a playground for his armies². Chakkara-kōṭṭam has been satisfactorily identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chitrakūṭa or Kōṭa, eight miles from Rājapura in the Bastar State: he has also adduced epigraphical evidence to show that its king was really Dhārāvarsha in A.D. 1111³, as stated in the epigraphs of Kulōttuṅga I. Dakshina-Lādam has been taken to be Dakshina-Virāṭa or Southern Berars; but it looks likely that it is identical with Dakshina-Rādha in Bengal⁴. Śrī-Vijaya appears under the form Śrī-Vishaya in a Kaṇḍiyūr inscription⁵ of the same king; and the large Leyden grant states that Māravijayōttuṅgavarman was the overlord of this territory⁶. This has been taken to be the same as San-fotsai of the Chinese annals and has been identified with Palembang, a residency of Sumatra⁷.

TEXT.

First Plate: First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ || திருமன்னி வளர இருநிலமடந்தையும் பொர்ச்சயப்பாவையும் சீர்த்த-
- 2 னிச் செவ்வியுந் தன் பெருந்தெவியராகி யின்புற⁸ நெடிதிய⁹ லாழியு ளிடைத்துறை
- 3 நாமும் துடர்வனவெலிப் படர் வனவாசியும்¹⁰ சூழ்¹¹மகிட் கொள்ளிப்பாக்கையு-
- 4 ம் நண்ணற் கருமாண்¹² மண்ணை கூடக்கமும் பொருத¹³ ரீழ்த்தரையர்த முடியு மாங்கவர் தெவிய
- 5 ரொங்கெழின்முடியு முன்னவர் [ப]க்கம் நென்னவர் வைத்த சுந்தரமுடியு மிந்திரநாமும் தெ-
- 6 ண்டிரை யீழ்மண்டல முழுவதும் எறிபடைக்¹⁴ கொளர் முறைமையிற் சூடுங் குலதன-
- 7 மாகிய பலர் புகழ் முடியும் செங்கதிர்மாலையும் சங்கதிர் வெலைத் தொல்பெ-
- 8 ருங்காவற் பல பழந்தீவும் செருவிற் சினவி விருபத்தொருகா லரைசுக்களை கட்ட பரசுரா-
- 9 மன் மெவருஞ் சாந்திமத்தீவாண் கருதி யிருத்திய செம்பொற் றிருத்தகு முடியும் பயங்கொ-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 296.

² *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 119 and 156.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 179. Mr. Hira Lal would substitute "Kulōttuṅga conquered king Dhārāvarsha at Chakrakōṭṭa" for "Kulōttuṅga conquered the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭṭam": See foot-note 2.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI, p. 7 ff.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1894-5, paragraph 12.

⁶ *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV, p. 218.

⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XXVI, p. 73 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313.

⁸ Tr. reads இன்புற. Here and in the following foot-notes, Tr. denotes the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I, published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

⁹ Here and in the following foot-notes, Tj. denotes the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I published in Vol. II, above, pp. 105 ff. Tj. and Tr. read நெடிதியல்.

¹⁰ சூழ் is a mistake for சூழ்.

¹¹ சூழ் is the reading in Tr. and Tj.

¹² முரண் is the reading in Tr. and Tj.

¹³ This reading occurs in Nos. 9, 10 and 82 of *South-Ind. Insors.*, Vol. II.

¹⁴ Read கொளர்.



- 10 பெழி மிக முயங்கியில்¹ முதுகிட்டொளித்த சயசிங்கன் அளப்பெரும்² புகழொடு³பிடியி-
விரட்டபாடி யெழ-
11 ரை யிலக்கமும் நவனெதிக்குலப்பெருமலைகளும்⁴ வீக்கிரமவீரர் சக்கரகொட்டமு முதிர்-
⁵வடவல்லை மது-
12 ர மண்டலமும் காமிடைவள நாமணை(ய்)க்கொணையும்⁶ வெஞ்சிலை⁷ வீரர் பஞ்சப்பள்ளி-
யும் பாசடைப்ப-
13 முன மாசணிதெசமும்⁸ அயர்வில்வண்பூர்த்தியையாதினுகர்⁹வையிற் சந்திரன் ரொல்குலத்-
திந்திராதனை¹⁰ [வி]-
14 னையமர்க்களத்துக் கிளையொடும் பிடித்துப் பலதனத்தொடு நிறைகுலதனக்குவையும்¹¹கிட்-
டருஞ்செ-

Second Side.

- 15 நிமினை [டு]யாட்டவினெயமும் பூசுரர் செர் நல்க் கொசலைஞாடும் தன்மபாலனை வெம்-
முனை யழித்து வ-
16 ண்டொறை சொலைத் தண்டபுத்தியும் இரணஞரனை முரணுக¹² த்தாக்கித் திக்கனை கீர்த்தித்
தக்கணலாடமும் கொ-
17 விந்தசந்தன் மாவிழிந்தொடத் தங்காத சாரல் வங்காளதெசமும் தொடுகழற் சங்குவொ-
ட்டல்¹³ மயிபாலனை வெ-
18 ஞ்சமர் விளாகத் தஞ்சவித்தருளி யொண்டிறல் யானையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமும் நித்தில
நெடுங்கட லு-
19 த்திரலாடமும் வெறிமலர்த்திரத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்¹⁴ அலைகடனெவட்¹⁵ பலகவஞ்
செலுத்திச் சங்கிராம-
20 வினெயொத்துங்கபன்மனாகிய கடாரத்தரையனை வாகையம்¹⁶ பொரு[க]டக்கு¹⁷[ம்ப]-
க்கரி-
21 யொடு மகப்படு[த் துரி]மையிற் பிறக்கிய பெருநெதிப் பிறக்கமும் ஆர்த்தவனகனகர்ப்
பொ-
22 ர்த்தொழில் வாசவில் விச்சாதர¹⁸ (தொ)தொரணமு மொய்த்தொளிர் புனைமணிப்புதவமு-
ம் கன-

¹ Tr. has முசங்கியல், while Tj. reads முயங்கியல். The change of ச and ய is quite ordinary.

² Tj. has அளப்பரும்.

³ Tr. and Tj. read பிடியல். Correct பிடியில் into பிடியல்.

⁴ Read விக்கிரம.

⁵ Tr. reads பட.

⁶ In place of வளநாமணை(ய்)க்கொணையும், Tr. reads வளைய நாமணைக்கொணமும், but Tj. has வளநாமணைக்கொணையும்.

⁷ For வெஞ்சிலை (= of fierce arrow) of Tr. and Tk., Tj. has வெஞ்சின (= of fierce anger).

⁸ For பாசடை பழணமாசணி தெசமும் of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has பாசடை பழநன் மாசணிதெசமும்.

⁹ வண்பூர்த்தி(யை) யாதினுகர் of the Tk., generally occurs as வண்கிர்த்தி ஆதி நகர் (Tr. and Tj.). The change of நகர் into னுகர் is correct.

¹⁰ For குலத்திந்திராதனை of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has குலத்திராதனை where த்திர is perhaps omitted before ராதனை.

¹¹ For கிட்டருஞ் of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has கிட்டரும் which is perhaps an engraver's mistake.

¹² For முரணுக of Tj. and Tk., Tr. has முரணுற.

¹³ The reading தொடுகழற் சங்குவொட்டல் agrees with that given in Tj., but Tr. has சங்கு கொட்டன்.

¹⁴ While Tj. reads வெறிமலர்த்திரத்தத் தெறிபுனல்கங்கை, Tr. has வெறிமணத்திரத்தத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கை; and Tk. வெறிமலர்த்திரத் தெறிபுனற்கங்கை.

¹⁵ For எவெட் of Tk., எவெட் is the reading in Tj. Both are correct.

¹⁶ While Tk. reads வாகையம், Tj. has வாகயம்.


¹⁷ In place of கடக்கும்பக்கரி, an Uttaramallūr inscription reads கடல் கும்பக்கரி. (see note 6 on page 107 above).

¹⁸ A different reading of this is விச்சாதிர: see *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II, p. 107.

a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the beautiful city of Âdinagar, filled with unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fight; the good Kôśalai-nâḍu, where Brâhmaṇas abounded; Daṇḍabutti, in whose gardens beetles abounded (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapâla (*in*) a hot battle; Takkaṇa-Lâḍam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśûra; Vaṅgâlâ-dêśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (*and from which*) Gôvindachandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*), after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field, Mahîpâla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttira-Lâḍam in the neighbourhood of the expansive ocean abounding in pearls; and the Gaṅgâ, whose waters dashed against the banks filled with fragrant flowers; and (*who*), having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgrâma-vijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍâram, along with (*his*) rutting elephants, which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated; the (*arch called*) Vidyâdhara-tôraṇa put up at the “gate” of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war; the “jewel-gate”, adorned with great splendour; the “gate of large jewels” the prosperous Śrî-Vishaiya; Pannai with a ghat of (*bathing*) water; the ancient Malaiyûr (*with*) a fort situated on a fine hill; Mâyirudiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat; Ilaṅgâśôgam (*i.e.*, Laṅkāśôka) undaunted (*in*) fierce battles; Mâppappâlam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mēvilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippandûru, possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle; the principal (*city of*) Takkoḷam, praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences; the island of Mâdamaliṅgam, of strong battlements; Ilâmurî-dêśam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength; the great Nakkavâram, whose gardens (*abounded in*) flowers dribbling honey; and Kaḍâram, of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers wearing kaḷal; the *dēvadâna* lands (*belonging to the temple*) of the Mahâdēva at Veṅgûrkkala-Tirukkaḷar in Puṇṅgarambai-nâḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolîdēva-valanâḍu, measured $\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*) $19\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{160}$ and . . . This land was inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement) of the surrounding parts.

No. 208.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJADHIRAJA I.

This inscription in six lines is engraved on the second plate of the Tirukkaḷar set. It is dated in the 31st year of the reign of the Chôḷa king Râjakêsarivarman Râjâdhirâja I and registers an arrangement made, by a certain Tirumanappichchan, who bore the double surname Araiyaṇ Nâgaraiyaṇ and Mahîpâlakulakâlap-pêraraiyaṇ, whereby one brahmin had to perform worship in the temple at Tirukkaḷar in addition to another who was doing that service till then. From the short historical introduction which states that the king with the help of his army took the head of Vîra-Pâṇḍya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilaṅgai, it is clear that “Śâlai is an important place in the Chêra dominions and not a feeding house” as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had taken to be.²

¹ Here is a figure resembling .

² See p. 65 of the *Annual Report on Archaeology* of the Travancore State for 1920-21.

- 23 மணிக்கதவமும் நிறை ஸ்ரீவிஜெயமும்¹ துறைநீர்ப்பன்னையு² மன்மலையூரெயிற் றென்
மலை[சூ]-
24 நும் ஆழ்கடலகழ்சூழ் மாயிருடின்கமும் கலங்கா வல்வினை யிலங்காசொபமும்³ காப்புறு
நிறை-
25 புனல் மாப்பப்பாளமும் காவலம்புரிசை மெவினிம்பங்கமும்⁴ வினைப்பைந் தூறுடை வ-
னைப்பைந்தா⁵-
26 றும் கலைத்தக்கொர் புகழ் தலைத்தக்கொலமும்⁶ தீயதமாவல்வினை⁷ மாதமலிங்க[முந்
கலா]முதிர் கடுத்திதல் இலாமு-
27 ரிதெசமும் தெனக்கலர்⁸ பொழில் மானக்கவாரமுந் தொடுகழற்⁹ காவற் கடுமுரட் கடா-
ரமு மாப்பொரு தண்டாற் கொ[ண்*]ட கொ-
28 ப்பரசெசரிபன்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜெந்திரசொழிதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு பதினெட்டா-
வது அருமொழிதெவ[வ]-
29 ளகாட்டு புறங்கரம்பை நாட்டு வெங்குர்க்கள திருக்களர் ழைவாடெவர் டெவதாரம் நிலம்
இ
30 மிகவிலைவன்னிலம் வளை[யி]ற்குற்று மிகிதிக்குறைவு¹⁰ உள்ளடங்க ள்வு

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighteenth year (of the reign of) king Parakêsarivarman alias Udaiyâr Śrî-Râjêndra-Chôladêva, in (his) life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, (and) while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—conquered with (his) great, warlike army (the following):—

Idaidurai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, whose unbroken hedge of forest (trees) was extending; Kollippâkkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood; Manṇaikkadakkam, whose fortification was unapproachable; the crown of the king of Îlam who came to close quarters in fighting; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that (king); the beautiful crown and Indra's pearl necklace, which the king of the south (i.e., the Pândya) had previously deposited with that (king of Îlam); the whole Îla-maṇḍala (on) the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland emitting beautiful rays, family treasures, which the (kings of) Kêraḷa, whose armies possessing missile weapons, rightfully wore; many ancient islands whose old, great guard was the ocean which resounds with its conches; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi) which Paraśurâma, having considered the fortifications of Śândimattîvu impregnable, had deposited (there), when, in anger (he) bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half lakshas of Iraṭṭapâḍi (which was) strong by nature, (and which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasimha, who, out of fear, turned his back at Muśangi and hid himself (thus earning) great infame; the principal great mountains (which contained) the nine treasures (of Kubêra); Śakkarakôṭṭam (guarded by) brave warriors; the ancient and strong northern Mâdura-maṇḍala; Nâmanaiikkôṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves; Pañchapaḷḷi (protected by) warriors (who bore) cruel bows; the moth (-grown) ancient Mâsunidêśa;

¹ Tj. reads ஸ்ரீவிசையமும் and one of the Tiruvallam inscriptions reads சீர்விசையமும்.

² Tj. reads வன்மலை.

³ Read இலங்காசொகமும் as in Tj.

⁴ Tj. reads வினைப்பந்தூ.

⁵ Tj. reads வனைப்பந்தூ.

⁶ Tj. has தீத.

⁷ மாதமலிங்கமும் occurs as மாதமாலிங்கமும் in Tj.

⁸ For தெனக்கலர், Tj. has தெனக்கவார்.


⁹ கடலக்காவல் is the reading in Tj.

¹⁰ Read மிகுதிக்குறைவு.

a large heap of family-treasures, together with many (*other*) treasures (*which he carried away*) after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the moon, together with (*his*) family, in a fight which took place in the beautiful city of Âdinagar, filled with unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, (*and which he subdued in*) close fight; the good Kôśalai-nâḍu, where Brâhmanas abounded; Daṇḍabutti, in whose gardens beetles abounded (*and which he acquired*) after having destroyed Dharmapâla (*in*) a hot battle; Takkaṇa-Lâḍam, whose fame reached (*all*) directions (*and which he occupied*) after having forcibly attacked Raṇasûra; Vaṅgâlâ-dêśa, where the rain-wind never stopped (*and from which*) Gôvindachandra fled, having descended (*from his*) male elephant; elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, (*which he seized*), after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field, Mahîpâla, decked (*as he was*) with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttira-Lâḍam in the neighbourhood of the expansive ocean abounding in pearls; and the Gaṅgâ, whose waters dashed against the banks filled with fragrant flowers; and (*who*), having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Samgrâma-vijayôttuṅgavarman, the king of Kadâram, along with (*his*) rutting elephants, which put up rare fight and brought victory,—(*took*) the large heap of treasures, which (*that king*) had rightfully accumulated; the (*arch called*) Vidyâdhara-tôraṇa put up at the “gate” of his wide inland city provided with accoutrements of war; the “jewel-gate”, adorned with great splendour; the “gate of large jewels” the prosperous Śrî-Vishaiya; Paṇṇai with a ghat of (*bathing*) water; the ancient Malaiyûr (*with*) a fort situated on a fine hill; Mâyirudiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (*as*) a moat; Ilaṅgâśôgam (*i.e.*, Laṅkāśôka) undaunted (*in*) fierce battles; Mâppappâlam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mēvilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Valaiippandûru, possessing (*both*) cultivated land (?) and jungle; the principal (*city of*) Takkoḷam, praised by great men (*versed in*) the sciences; the island of Mâdamaliṅgam, of strong battlements; Ilâmuri-dêśam, provided with scientifically ripe excessive strength; the great Nakkavâram, whose gardens (*abounded in*) flowers dribbling honey; and Kadâram, of fierce strength, protected by foot-soldiers wearing *kaḷal*; the *dēvadāna* lands (*belonging to the temple*) of the Mahâdēva at Veṅgûrkkala-Tirukkaḷar in Puṇṅgarambai-nâḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumolīdēva-valanâḍu, measured $\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*) $19\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{160}$ and . . . This land was inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement) of the surrounding parts.

No. 208.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF RAJADHIRAJA I.

This inscription in six lines is engraved on the second plate of the Tirukkaḷar set. It is dated in the 31st year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman Râjâdhirâja I and registers an arrangement made, by a certain Tirumanappicheṇ, who bore the double surname Araiyaṇ Nâgaraiyaṇ and Mahîpâlakulakâlappêraraiyaṇ, whereby one brahmin had to perform worship in the temple at Tirukkaḷar in addition to another who was doing that service till then. From the short historical introduction which states that the king with the help of his army took the head of Vîra-Pâṇḍya, Śâlai of the Chêra king and Ilaṅgai, it is clear that “Śâlai is an important place in the Chêra dominions and not a feeding house” as the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao had taken to be.²

¹ Here is a figure resembling .

² See p. 65 of the *Annual Report on Archaeology* of the Travancore State for 1920-21.

TEXT¹.

- 1 வீரபாண்டி[ய*]ன் றலையும் செரவ[ன்*] சாலையு[ம்*] இலங்கையும் தண்டாற் கொண்ட
கொ இராஜ[கெ]-
- 2 சரிபநராந உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜாயிராஜ ஷெவ[ர்*]க்கு யாண்டு நயக ஆவது அரெய[ன்]
நாகரெயனாந
- 3 மஹிபாலகுலகாலப்பெரெய[னா]ந திருமண(ப்)ப்பிச்சன் உடையார்க்கு முன்பு திருவ-
[ர்*]ராதிரை செ-
- 4 யும் பிராமணந் ஒருவனும் திருமண(ட்)ப்பிச்சன் செதனிவகங்கொண்டு செய்யும் பிராம-
5 ணன் ஒருவனுமாக இருவர்க்கு ள் க-சூ தூணிகுறுணி ஆக ள் நாசுயிசூ உாடுயௌ-
சூவிட்டரி கவ இது
- 6 அழிப்ப[ர்*]ர் திருவாணை || ▮

TRANSLATION.

In the 31st year of (*the reign of*) king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājādhiraājadēva, who, with his army, had taken the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, Śālai of the Chēra king and Ilaṅgai (*i.e.*, Ceylon), Araiyaṇ Nāgaraiyaṇ *alias* Mahīpālakulakālappēraraiyaṇ *alias* Tirumaṇappichchaṇ gave 1½ (*vēli of*) land for (*yielding an income of*) 150 (*kalam of paddy*) for the expenses of two brahmins, *viz.*, one brahmin, performing the worship of the god from of old and one brahmin who is to perform (*the same*) receiving the income provided for by Tirumaṇappichchaṇ at the rate of (one) *tuni* and (one) *kurun* of paddy per day for 360 days. Those who destroy this (*shall incur the sin of acting against*) the sacred (*or royal*) order.

No. 209.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA.

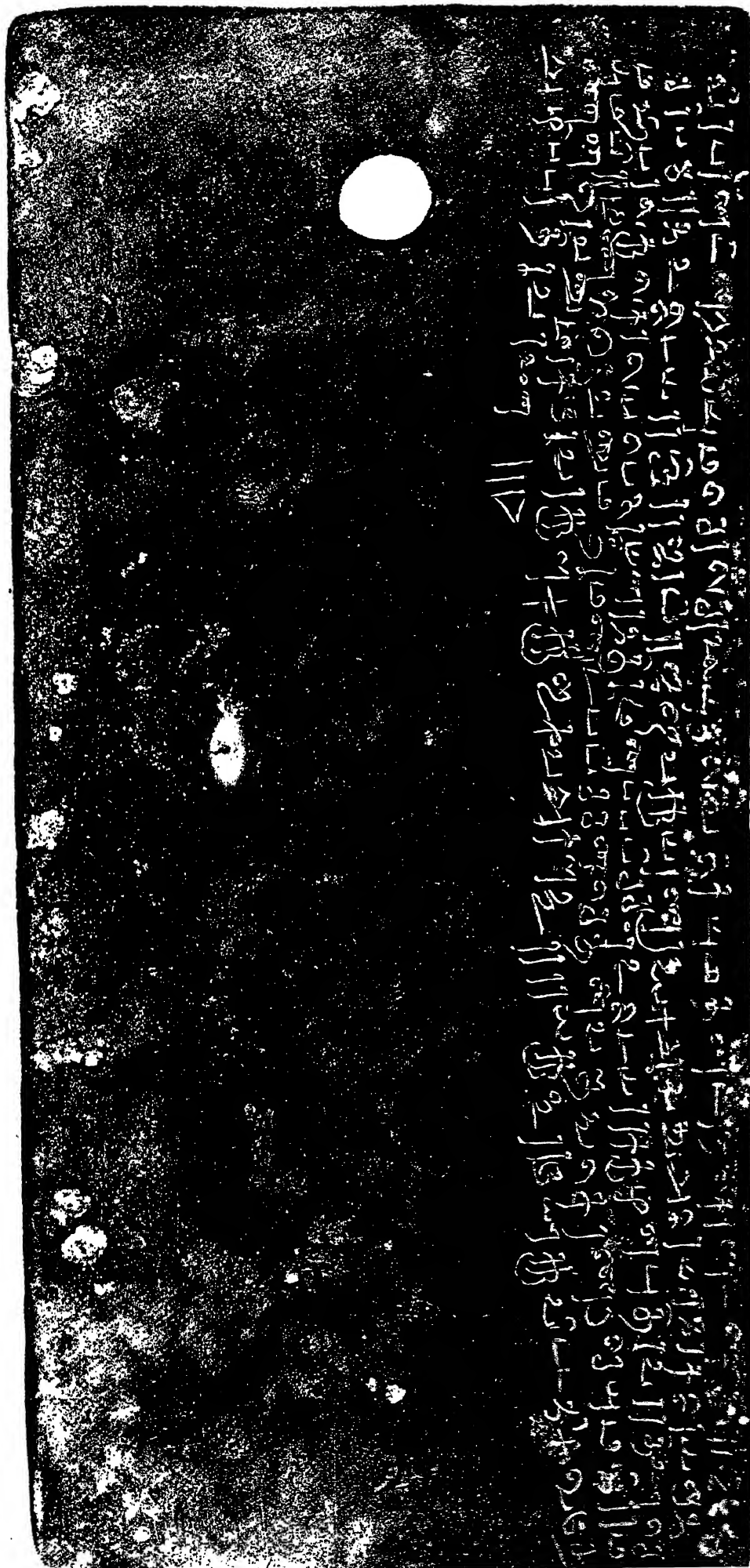
This inscription in 19 lines is engraved on the third plate of the Tirukkalar set. It is dated in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva without any distinguishing epithet or historical introduction. In the absence of these, though it is not generally possible to say to which of the three kings who bore that name this record must be attributed, yet it appears to be a record of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, since it is stated in the fourth inscription in this set in referring to this record that the king abolished tolls—which is generally a feat attributed to Kulōttuṅga I. It registers a gift of paddy made by a certain Śivaṇ Tillaināyakaṇ *alias* Śiruttonḍanambi of Tanṇīrkunṇam in Neṇmali-nāḍu to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirukkalar in Puṇḡarambai-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Rājēndrasōla-valanāḍu for the purpose of taking in procession Aravābharanadēva, for offerings to Pillaiyār and the god in the Mūlatṭānam and for feeding devotees on the days of the new-moon.

Tanṇīrkunṇam, to which the donor belonged, is a village 7 miles to the east of Maṇṇārguḍi in the Tanjore District. The modern village of Nemmeli in the same Taluk, must have been the principal place in the division Neṇmali-nāḍu in which Tanṇīrkunṇam is said to have been situated.

TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்வஸி ஸ்ரீ [[*] திரிபுவனசக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ கெ[ர்*]லொத்துங்கசொழதெவர்க்கு யாண்டு
2 இருபத்தெட்டாவது இராசெந்திரசொழவளநாட்டு புறங்கரம்பைநாட்டு திருக்களரு-
டை-
- 3 பமாதெவர்க்கு அமாவ[ர்*]சி அரவாபரணதெவர் திருவிழா வெழுந்தருளுகைக்கு அம்-
தை நாளா-

¹ This inscription is written on one side of this plate and the other side is left blank.
² These are expressed by symbols.



Handwritten text in Tamil script, likely a plate of the Tirukkalar. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines across the plate. A circular hole is visible near the top center, used for binding. The script is dense and characteristic of the Chola period.

- 4 ல் தெவர் பெரும்திருவமுது செய்விக்கவும் பிள்ளையார்க்கு திருவமுது செய்விக்கவும் ஸ்ரீ-
முலத்-
- 5 தாநம்முடையார் அமுதுசெய்தருளவும் அற்றை நாளால் தெவரடியாரை அமுது-
- 6 செய்விக்கவும் நென்மலிநாட்டு தண்ணிர்க்குற்றம்முடையார் சிவந் தில்லை நாயக(ந்)நாந்
- 7 சிறுத்தொண்டநம்பி செய்த உபையமாவிது [1*] இக்கொயில் சிவப்பிராமணன் கௌசிகந்
வெ-
- 8 ண்காடன்பட்டனும் காசியவந் காறாயில் முளைச்சானும் கௌசிகன் ¹அதித்தன் ஆடவலா-
னும் உள்-
- 9 ளிட்ட சிவப்பிராமணரொம் இவர்பக்கல் இவ்வாட்டை வைகாசி மாசத்து நாங்கள் பொ-
- 10 லியுட்டு² கொண்ட முதல் நெல்[லு] அறுபதின் கலத்துக்கும் கலத்துக்கு முக்குறுணியா-
- 11 க பவிசை பொலியும் நெல்லு பதி(ந்)னைஞ்கலத்து[க்*]கும் செலவாக அமாவாசிதொறும்
கலநெ
- 12 முக்குறு(ண்)ணியாக ³சஞ்சிராதித்தவந் மு[ந்]நின்றொமெ செயக்கடவொமாகவும் இவ்-
வுர்⁴ அரவாப-
- 13 ரணந் எடுத்தபர்தமாந் திருச்சிற்றம்பலக்காலா[னு*]ம் அரவாபரணன் இயபர[த*]நாத-
நம்⁵ ஆடவலான்
- 14 ஆன புவசிவநான⁶ பத்த[ர்*]க(ள்)னாயக பி[ச்*]சனும் அரவிந்தந் குற்றனான நாற்பத்தெ-
[ண்*]னாயிரபிச்சநும் கூத்த-
- 15 ந் கங்கைகொண்டானாந் சிவசரணசெகரமுனெந்தவெளானும்[*] இவைவொ[ம்*] சிவந்
தில்லைநாயகந் பக்கல்
- 16 னாங்கர் உபையம் பண்ணி பொலியூட்டுக்கொண்ட நெல்லு நூற்று⁷ இருபதின் கலத்துக்-
கும் கலநெல்லுக்கு
- 17 முக்குறுணியாக ஓராட்டைநானேக்கு பவிசை நெல்லு முப்பதின் கலம்[1*] அமாவாசி ஒந்-
றுக்கு நெல்லு இருகலநெ
- 18 ⁸துணிப்பத[க்*]காக தெவர் அடியார் முப்பது கலம் அமுது செவி[க்கக்*]கடவொ[ம்*]
எங்களில் புணைவ[சு]ம்[1*]சன்திராதித்தவந் ஸ்ரீ-
யெஸ்வ[ர*]ரொ[க்*] கணபெற்றார் மாயெசுவரக் காணியாநிற்க [1*] இவை எ[ன்*]
நெ[முது][1*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, Śivan Tillaināyagan *alias* Śiruttonḍanambi of Tannirkunṇam in Neṇmali-nāḍu made the following gift to (*the temple of*) Mahādēva of Tirukkalar in Puraṅgarambaināḍu (*a subdivision*) of Rājēndrasōla-valānaḍu, for the purpose of conducting the festival of Aravābharaṇadēva on the day of the new-moon, the grand offerings to the god to be made on that day, offerings to Pillaiyār (*i.e.*, Gaṇapati), offerings to the god in the central shrine (*Mūlasthāna*) and for the feeding of the devotees (*dēvarāḍiyār*) (*to be made*) on the (*same*) day.

For the interest in paddy of fifteen *kalam* which accrues at the rate of three *kuruni* per *kalam* on the sixty *kalam* of paddy which, we the Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, (*viz.*,) Kauśikan Venkāḍabhaṭṭan, Kāśyapan Kārāyil Mūlaichechan, Kauśikan Ādittan Ādavallān and other Śiva-Brāhmaṇas of this temple had received as principal for (*bearing*) interest from this person (*i.e.*, Śivan Tillaināyagan) in the month of Vaigāśi of this year, we the five *viz.*, Aravābharaṇan Eduttapādam *alias* Tiruchchirrambalakkāḷān, Aravābharaṇan Iyabaradanāḍan,

¹ Read ஆதித்தன்.⁴ Read இவ்வூர்.⁷ Read நூற்று.² Read பூட்டு.⁵ Read நாதனும்.⁸ Read துணிப்பதக்காக.³ Read சந்தி.⁶ Read பூர்வசிவ.

Ādavallāṇ alias Pūrvāsivaṇ alias Pattarganāyaka-Pichchan, Aravindan Kuran alias Nārpattennāyira-Pichchan, Kūttan Gangaikondāṇ alias Śivaśaraṇasēgara-Mūvēndavēlāṇ of this village, who came forward (for this purpose) shall conduct the (specified) expenses on each new-moon day, at the rate of (one) *kalam* and three *kuruni* as long as the Moon and the Sun (endure).

For the (one) hundred and twenty *kalam* of paddy which we had received on interest by agreement from Śivaṇ Tillaināyagan of this village, the interest in paddy for a period of one year calculated at the rate of three *kuruni* per *kalam*, is thirty *kalam*.

With these thirty *kalam*, through those who stand for us we shall feed the devotees at the rate of two *kalam*, (one) *tūni* and (one) *padakku* of paddy for one new-moon day.

As long as the sun and the moon (endure), the Śrī-Māhēśvaras shall be surety (for this). Kanperāṇ shall be in charge of the Māhēśvara-kāni. This is my writing.

No. 210.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RAJARAJADEVA.

This is the fourth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on the second side of the third plate and belongs to the 18th year of the reign of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Rājarājadēva. It records that some of the families of the donees, who received the gift made by Śivaṇ Tillaināyagan of Tannirkunram in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla, the abolisher of tolls, ceased to have male members and that in consequence a question arising as to how the feeding pertaining to these families should be conducted in future, the Māhēśvaras settled that the feeding stipulated in the grant to be done by the donees devolved on the female descendants as well and that arrangements were made in accordance with that order. The inscription may probably belong to the reign of Rājarāja II, though the distinguishing epithet of the king is missing and the characters appear to belong to a later period.

TEXT.

- 1 ஸ்ரீஷ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ[||*]திரிபுவ[னசக்கரவத்தி]கள் ஸ்ரீஇராஜராஜதேவம்[கு] யாண்டு பதிநெ-
ட்டாவது நாள்
- 2 நூற்றெண்பதிகால் இராசேந்திரசொழவனநாட்டுப் புறங்கரம்பைநாட்டுத் திரு-
3 க்களர் முளைத்த மாதேவற்கு அமாவாசி எழுந்தருளி தேவரடியாரை அமுது செய்வி-
4 க்கச் சங்கந்தவத்தருளின கொலொத்துங்கசொழதேவற்கு இருபத்தெட்டா[வ]-
5 து தண்ணிற்குன்றமுடையான் சிவந்தில்லைநாயகந் பக்கல் இத்தெவர் திருமடை-
6 [விள]ராகத்திருக்கும் ஆண்டார்கள் உபையமாக கொண்ட நெல்லுக்கு அமுது செய்[வி]-
7 க்கும்படிக்கு முன்பு வெட்டின செப்பெட்டெடியில் உபையங்கொண்டு அமு-
8 துசெய்வித்துவருகிற ஆண்டார்களில் ஆண்வழி அற்றுப் பெண்வழியா-
9 ன் கொத்துக்கு அமுது செய்விக்கும்படி கனகராயரும் ஸ்ரீமாமகேசுவர-
10 ரும் அறுதி பண்ணுகிற இடத்துப் பொலிண்டிப் பெண்வழியும் வருமெ-
11 ன்று ஸ்ரீமாமகேசுவரர் நிச்சயித்தமையில் இப்படி சம்மதித்துப் பெண்வழியி-
12 லார் இட்ட திட்டப்படி ஆடவலான் பூர்வசிவனாந பத்தகநாயகப் பிச்சந் மக-
13 னைக் கொண்ட கண்பெற்றான் மன்று நிறைந்தநான அன்பற்கடி-
14 யான் அமுது செய்விக்கும் பெர் முன்று இவன் கொழுந்தி மகந் தேவன்
15 [திவாகர்?]ன் உள்ளிட்டார் அமுது செய்விக்கும் பெர் முன்றும் ஆண்வழி திருச்சிற்-
16 தம்பலக்காலான் அமுது செய்விக்கும் ஐஞ்சு கூறிட் டிரண்டு கூற்றால் பெர் ப-
17 ன்கிரண்டும் அமுது செய்விக்க[||*] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighteenth year and one hundred and eightieth day of (the reign of) the emperor of the three worlds the glorious Rājarājadēva, when male descendants ceased to exist in some of the families of the *āṇḍār* who had been living in the *tirumadai-śṛīḍāgam* of the god and who had obtained a paddy-gift for conducting the feeding specified

in a copper-plate grant engraved formerly (*i.e.*), in the twenty-eighth year of (*the reign of*) Kulôttunga-Chôladêva, the abolisher of tolls, from Śivan Tillainâyagan of Tanṇîrkunram, who made provision for the new-moon festival and for feeding the devotees (*dēvaraḍiyār*) of the god Mahâdêva who had sprung at Tirukkalar in Puṇṅgarambai-nâḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājêndrasôla-valanâḍu and who (*i.e.*, the *āṇḍār*) had been conducting the feeding with the gifts and when Kanakârâyar and the Mâhêśvaras wished to decide how the feeding pertaining to the families having only female descendants should be conducted, the Mâhêśvaras came to the settlement that the feeding from the interest (*of a gift*) devolved also on the female descendants. It was so agreed and that in accordance with the agreement made by the female descendants, (*it was decided that*) three persons had to be fed by Kanperṛāṇ Maṇṇuniraindāṇ alias Anbarkaḍiyāṇ who had taken (*to wife*) the daughter of Âḍavallāṇ Pârvasivan alias Pattarganâyaga-Pichchan, that three persons had to be fed by Dêvaṇ Divâkaraṇ, the son of her *koḷundi* (husband's younger sister) and others and that twelve persons pertaining to two shares out of the (*whole*) five,—which (*number*) was fed by Tiruchchirrambalakkâlāṇ,—shall now be fed by the male descendants (*of his*).

No. 211.—TIRUKKALAR PLATE OF KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

This is the fifth inscription in the Tirukkalar set. It is engraved on both sides of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth. It is dated in the 29th year of the reign of Kulôttunga-Chôladêva (*i.e.*, Kulôttunga III) who took Madura, Ceylon, Karuvâr and the crowned head of the Pândya king and furnishes a list of gold and silver ornaments belonging to the temple at Tirukkalar with their weights as measured by the standard weight called the *kuḍṇai-kal* and the fineness in each case.

First Side.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] திரிபுவனச்சக்கரவத்திகள் மதுரையும் சூழமுங் கருவூரும் பாண்டியன் முடித்தலையுங் கொண்டருளி-
- 2 ய ஸ்ரீகுலொத்துங்க சொழுவெவற்கு யாண்டு உயசு-வது திருக்களர் முனைத்த காயனார் கொ-
- 3 யில் திருவாபரணத்துக்கு முதல் குடினைக்கல்விடை திருக்கொள்கை க-ம் இதன் செ-
- 4 மல் பறமமும் உட்பட அஇவறு மாறிபொன் நூற்றொரு கழஞ்சரை இதன் விளிம்பி-
- 5 ற் திரைத்த வெள்ளி பதினாழ்கழஞ்செ முக்கால் ||— திருவொதா¹ரமலை பொற்பு ப-
- 6 தினாறிநால் அஇ மாறி பொன் பன்னிரு கழஞ்சு ||— திருவுத்தரியம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி
- 7 பொன் இருகழஞ்செ நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறு மா ||— திருப்பிறை க-னால் அ மு-
- 8 க்கால் மாறி பொன் முக்கால் ||— கன்னபுஜி²[||*] க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு-
- 9 செ கால் ||— திருப்பட்டிகைப்பலகை க-னால் அவ மாறி பொன் அறுபத்து
- 10 நாகழஞ்சரை இதன் விளிம்பித்திரைத்த வெள்ளி பத்தொன்பதின் கழஞ்சரை-
- 11 ய நாலு மஞ்சாடியும் ஆறுமா இதனுள் பலவிடத்துந் தைத்த செப்பாணி இடை
- 12 ஆறரை பலம் ||— அன்னியுடையா ரிட்ட பொற்பு க-னால் பொன் கழஞ்சு இது கொத்த
- 13 வெள்ளிக்காரை க-னால் வெள்ளி அரைக் கழஞ்சு ||— உய-வது மாளிகை முலபண்டார-
- 14 த்திநின்றும் வந்த திருப்பட்டம் க-னால் பொன் எழுகழஞ்செ கால் ||—

Second Side.

- 15 திருப்பள்ளியறை நாச்சியார்[||*]குச் சாத்துகிற சிறுதாவி க-ம் மணி க-னாலும் பொன் இர-
- 16 ண்டெமஞ்சாடியு¹ நாலுமா இது மாற்று அஇ இது கொத்த காரை க-னால் வெள்ளி கால்
- 17 திருமங்கலநாண் க-ம் தாவி க-ம் கொக்குவாய் படுகண் உட்பட கூ மாறி பொன் இருகழ-

¹ Read 'வதர.

² The syllables டியு are engraved below the line.

- 18 ன்சு ||— அரவாபரணதெவற்குச்சாத்தியருள உயந-வது பொதிமங்கலமுடையான்
 19 இராசாண்டானுந சொழவிச்சாதரப்பல்லவரையர் செய்வித்த திருவாசிகை க-னா-
 20 ல் அவப மாறி பொன் இருதூற்றைம்பத்து ஐங்கழஞ்செ காலெ முன்று
 21 மஞ்சாடியு மஞ்சமா ||— அபிஷேகம் க-னால் கூஇ மாறி பொன் பதினாறு க-
 22 முஞ்சரை ||— இத்தெவர் திருவாரம் க-னால் கூவ மாறி பொன் நாம்கழஞ்செ முக்கா-
 23 லெ இரண்டு மஞ்சாடியும் எழுமா ||— இவர் திருத்தொடு உ-னால் அவ மாறி
 பொன்
 24 முக்கழஞ்சு ||— இவர் நாச்சியார் அபிஷேகம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் பதின் கழஞ்-
 25 சு ||— இவர் திருவாரம் க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்செ கால் || இவர்(த்)தொடு
 உ-னா-
 26 ல் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு ||— திருவட்டமணி உயச-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன்
 கழஞ்சரை
 27 திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி நய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்செ இரண்டு மஞ்-
 சாடி-
 28 யு நா[ஹ] மா ||— திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன்
 மா ||-

First Side.

- 29 திருவட்டமணிவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு ||— திருச்சி-
 30 லம்பு ஓரணியினால் அஃ மாறி பொன் நாம்கழஞ்சு ||— நிறைதவஞ்செய்த நாச்சியா-
 31 ற்குச் சாத்தியருள திருவையாறுடையா ரிட்ட திருவபிஷேகம் க-னால் கூ மாறி பொன்
 32 பதினைங்கழஞ்சரை ||— திருநெற்றித்திமனை க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் ஐங்கழஞ்செ
 33 கால் ||— திருமங்கலநாண் க தாவி கடைத்தொழிலுட்பட அஇ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சு ||—
 34 திருத்தாவடம் க-னால் மணி சய-னால் கூ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சு ||— திருக்கைச்சரி ச-னால்
 கூ மா-
 35 றி பொன் இருகழஞ்செ முக்காலெ மஞ்சாடி ||— வெள்ளிமணி நயநு-னால் வெள்ளி
 36 முக்காலெ இரண்டு மஞ்சாடியு முன்று மா ||— வெள்ளிக்காறை க-னால் வெள்ளி
 37 முக்காலெ இரண்டு² மஞ்சாடி இதில் கொத்த தாவி க-னால் அஇ மாறி பொன் அரைக்
 கழஞ்சு ||—
 38 திருத்தொடு உ-னால் அஃ மாறி பொன் கழஞ்சரை || திருவாரம் க-னால் பொன்
 39 ³ || சிசச்சக்கரம் க-னால் கூ மாறி பொன் இருகழஞ்சு || திருக்கண்டவாளி உ-னால் கூ மா-
 40 றி பொன் முக்கால் || உடையாற்கு திருமஞ்சனத்து⁴க்குச் சாத்தியருள உடையார்
 சொழவிச்சா-
 41 திரப்பல்லவரையர் இட்ட திருவுத்தரியம் க-னால் பொன் முக்காலெ நாலு மஞ்சாடியு-
 42 ம் ஆறுமா || மாற்று காசமி || திருவாசிகைப்புரிமத்தில்⁵ பாம்பு க-னால் பொன் கழஞ்-
 43 செ முக்காலெ இரண்டு மா ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 26th year of (the reign of) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulôttunga-Chôladêva who had been pleased to take Madura, Ilam (i.e., Ceylon) Karuvâr and the crowned head of the Pândya (king), the following list of sacred ornaments in the temple of the Nâyanaîr who had sprung at Tirukkalar, was made weighed with the *kudînai-kal*:—

1 *tirukkolgai*; inclusive of the *parama* over this, one hundred and one *kalaiñju* and a half of gold of 8½ fineness; silver fastened to the edges weigh fourteen *kalaiñju* and three-fourths.

By sixteen gold flowers in the *tiruvodaramalai*, twelve *kalaiñju* of gold of 8½ fineness.

By 1 sacred upper-cloth (*tiruvuttariyam*), two *kalaiñju*, four *manjâdi* and six *mâ* of gold of 8½ fineness.

By 1 sacred crescent (*tiruppirai*), three-fourth (*kalaiñju*) of gold of 8 and three-fourths fineness.

¹ The figures engraved here are ஸுபுபுபு which may stand for 1 *kalaiñju*, 8 *manjâdi* and 2 *mâ*.

² @ is written below the line.

³ Not filled in.

⁴ The two letters த்து are entered below the line.

⁵ This word may also be read பாம்பு.

i.

 $\ddot{ii} \alpha.$ *ib.*[illegible]

By 3 ear-flowers (*kannapushpam*), two *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred girdle-plate (*tiruppattigai-palagai*), sixty-four *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{4}$ fineness. Silver, covering the edges of this, nineteen *kalāñju* and a half, four *mañjādi* and six *mā*. The weight of copper nails fixed in the several parts of this (*ornament*) is six and half *palam*.

By 1 gold flower given by Anniyudaiyâr, one *kalāñju* of gold. By one silver necklace in which this was strung, half a *kalāñju* of silver.

By 1 sacred diadem (*tiruppattum*) received in the 20th (year) from the central treasury of the palace (*māligai*), seven *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold.

By 1 small marriage-badge (*tāli*) to be worn by the goddess of the bed-chamber and one *mañi* (gem), two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold. This is of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness. By 1 necklace on which this was strung, quarter (*kalāñju*) of silver. Inclusive of 1 string of the marriage-badge, 1 marriage-badge, together with the *kokkuvāy* and *paḍugaṇ*, two *kalāñju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 garland (*tiruvāsigai*) made by Irāsāṇḍāṇ alias Śōlavichchādira Pallavaraiyar of Pôdimāṅgalam in the 23rd (*year of reign*), for being put on (*the image of*) Aravābharaṇadēva, two hundred and fifty-five *kalāñju* and a quarter, three *mañjādi* and five *mā* of gold of $8\frac{1}{8}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishēka*, sixteen *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $9\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred garland (*tiruvāram*) of this god, four *kalāñju* and three-fourths, two *mañjādi* and seven *mā* of gold of $9\frac{1}{4}$ fineness.

By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tirutōḍu*) of this (*god*), three *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 *abhishēka* of the consort of this (*god*), ten *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred garland (*tiruvāram*) of this (*god*) two *kalāñju* and a quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 2 ear-rings (*tōḍu*) of this (*god*), two *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 24 sacred round beads (*tiruvattamani*), (*one*) *kalāñju* and a half of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness. By 1 string of sacred round beads (*tiruvattamani*) and 30 beads, (*one*) *kalāñju*, two *mañjādi* and four *mā* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, [*1 kalāñju*, 8 *mañjādi* and 2 *mā*]¹ of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of sacred round beads and 40 beads, two *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 pair of sacred anklet (*tiruchchilambu*), four *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness.

By 1 *tiru-abhishēkam* presented by Tiruvaiaiyârūdaiyân for being worn by the Nâchchiyâr (*i.e.*, the goddess Pârvatî) who performed full penance, fifteen *kalāñju* and a half of gold of 9 fineness.

By 1 *tiraṇai* for the forehead, five *kalāñju* and quarter of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 string of marriage-badge inclusive of the end-workings of the marriage-badge, (*one*) *kalāñju* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.

By 1 sacred foot-string (*tiruttvāḍam*), and 41 beads, (*one*) *kalāñju* of gold of 9 fineness.

By 4 sacred wristlets, two *kalāñju* and three fourths and (*one*) *mañjādi* of gold of 9 fineness.

¹ Expressed by symbols : see page 474, note 1.

By 35 silver beads, three-fourths of a (*kaḷaṇṇu*), two *maṇḍāḍi* and three *mā* of silver.
 By 1 silver bracelet (*kārai*), three fourths (*kaḷaṇṇu*) and two (*maṇḍāḍi*) of silver.
 By 1 marriage-badge strung on this, half a *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold of $8\frac{1}{2}$ fineness.
 By 2 sacred ear-rings (*tiruttōḍu*), (one) *kaḷaṇṇu* and a half of gold of $8\frac{3}{4}$ fineness.
 By 1 sacred garland gold.¹
 By 1 head circlet (*śirachakram*), two *kaḷaṇṇu* of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 2 sacred necklaces (*tirukkanda-vāli*), three-fourths (of a *kaḷaṇṇu*) of gold of 9 fineness.
 By 1 sacred upper cloth presented by Uḍaiyār Śōḷaviḥchādira-Pallavaraiyar to be worn by the god during the sacred bath, three-fourths (of a *kaḷaṇṇu*), four *maṇḍāḍi* and six *mā* of gold.²

By 1 snake in the *tiruvāśigaippurimam*, (one) *kaḷaṇṇu* and three-fourths and two *mā* of gold.

TWO CHOLA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM TIRUCHCHENGODU.

No. 212.—TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN.³

This short inscription in seven lines is engraved on the first side of the first plate of the set of copper-plates obtained from M.R.Ry. Muthuswamy Konar of Tiruchchengōḍu. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of king Rājakesarivarmān and registers evidently an order of one of the feudatory chiefs of the sovereign named Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundaraśōḷaṇ, stating that the taxes on full house-sites and half house-sites shall be recovered at $\frac{1}{4}$ th and $\frac{1}{8}$ th (*kāṣu*?) respectively from the citizens of Tūśiyūr and that fines and faults, if any, shall be realised at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram. The chief Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundaraśōḷaṇ gets the surnames Piradigaṇḍaṇ and Kolli-Maḷavaṇ in B and Oṟriyūraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman in No. 213. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has identified the king Rājakesarivarmān of this and the following record with Rājarāja I and notes as follows regarding the donor's father who, in B is stated to have died at Îḷam (i.e., Ceylon)⁴:—"He was evidently a military officer of Rājarāja I or of one of his predecessors. An inscription from Tiruvenkāḍu of the time of Rājarāja I refers to the general Śiriyavēḷḷaṇ of Koḍumbāḷūr who fell in a battle-field in Îḷam in the ninth year of Poṇmāligai-tuṇḷina-dēva (i.e., Sundara-Chōḷa Parāntaka II). It is not impossible that the father of Maḷavaraiyaṇ was also connected with the battle in which Śiriyavēḷḷaṇ fell".

It is not possible to identify Tūśiyūr mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.⁵

A.

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொவிராஜகேசரிபன்மற்கு⁶ யா-
- 2 ண்டு ய ஆவது மழவரையன் சுந்தரசொழிநெ-
- 3 ண்⁷ தூசிபூர் நகரத்தாரை நாங் கொள்ளும் மிறை முழும-
- 4 ணை காலும் அரைமனை அரைக்காலும் நின்ற இறைஆ-

¹ Details regarding this item are omitted to be given in the original.

² After this occurs the phrase மாற்று காசமி whose significance cannot be made out.

³ This is registered as No. 10 of App. A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1913-14, Part II, paragraph 15.

⁵ From impressions (received from) the office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

⁶ Pulli is marked in some places and left out in others.

⁷ Here the word ஓலை seems to have been omitted.

- 5 கக் கொள்வதாகவும் தண்டங்குற்ற முள்ளது நந்திபுர ம-
 6 ற்சாதி¹ கொள்வதாகவும் இதன் மென்றான் ஸங்கதசந்தான-
 7 ம் துப்பன வறுவான் இது இர[கதி]த்தானடி என் தலை மெலது.

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 10th year of (*the reign of*) king Râjakêsarivarman, I, Malavaraiyan Sundarâśôlan (*ordered as follows*):—

The tax which we used to receive from the citizens of Tûsiyûr (*viz.*) one-fourth (*kâśu*) on (*each*) full house-site, and one-eighth on (*each*) half house-site shall be realised as permanent tax ; any fine or fault shall be realised according to (*the rate prevalent at*) Nandipuram. The merit and progeny of him who contradicts this shall be entirely² cut off. The feet of him who protects this shall (*rest*) on my head.

TEXT.

B³.

- 1 ஸுஷி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொல்லிமழவன் பிரதிகண்டன் சுந்தரசொழனென்
 2 எங்களாச்ச ரிழத்துப் பட அவர் ஸ்ரீஜாஹத்துக்குச் சிறு-
 3 பாடு கல்லொடு குழிக்குத் தென்மெ[ற்*]க்கு தூசியுர்⁴ தி-

Second Side.

- 4 ருக்கற்றளி பரஜெயூரர்க்கு செதுகுத்தென் பிரதிகண்-
 5 டன் சுந்தரசொழனென் ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! My father having been killed in Îlam (Ceylon), I, Kollimalavan Piradiganḍan Sundarâśôlan,⁵ made a *śirupāḍu*⁶ to the south-west of the boulder with a hole and gave it to the lord of the sacred stone temple at Tûsiyûr for (*appeasing*) his thirst.

No. 213.—TIRUCHCHENGODU PLATE OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN.⁷

This inscription, engraved on three plates—the last bearing writing only on the inner side—is dated in the 5th year of the reign of the Chôla king Râjakêsarivarman (identified with Râjarâja I) and registers gifts of lands made by the chief Kollimalavan Orriyûran Piradiganḍavarman, to the temple of Paramêśvara of the sacred Mûlasthâna at Tûsiyûr. Boundaries of the lands granted are furnished in detail and therein figure Kaṇṇāḍu, the dams called Pûnârû-ṇai and Kallôḍu-ṇai, the tanks Śûlai-kulam also known as Kândalêri, Tâmaraikkulam and Karraḷi-êri also named Pudukkulam, the temple of Tântônripirân, Mûkkurukkâ, Kaṭṭinâgankûval-iṭṭêr and Kaṇavadinallûr, otherwise called Aṃankudi.

¹ Cf. *maryāda* in Sanskrit.

² With துப்பன cf. துப்புர or துப்புரவாய்.

³ This inscription is engraved below A and continued on the other side of the plate.

⁴ Read தூசியுர்.

⁵ This name is repeated twice in the inscription.

⁶ The word *Śirupāḍu* seems to be connected with *Śirupāḍu* 'small savings effected by females and youngsters'. In the text, it may refer to some land or property, which the donor might have obtained out of the savings effected by him in his youth.

⁷ This inscription is registered as No. 11 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1914.

Kannādu (*kal-nādu*) which occurs more than once in this inscription refers evidently to hero-stones which are stated in ancient Tamil literature, as having been put up with great ceremony in honour of persons who had done valorous deeds in guarding their country and given up their lives in that cause. Being associated with the word பெருவரம்பு it may even be an engraver's mistake for *kannārru*.

Traces of writing found in lines 13, 28, 29, 30 and 33 indicate that the present inscription is a palimpsest.

It is not possible to identify the places mentioned in this inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Plate : First Side.

- 1 லுஷ்வி ஸ்ரீ² [||*]
- 2 கொவிராஜகெவலிவநு[ர்க்*]கூ-த் திருவெழுத்தி-
- 3 (ருவெழுத்தி)ட்டுச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு அஞ்சாவது இவ்வ[ர*]ண்டு கொல்-
- 4 லிமழவன் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்ட[வ]ஜெனென் என்னாட்டுத் தூசியூர்-
- 5 த் தென்புலத் தூநிலம் கிழக்கெல்லை பிடாரியா[ர்*] நிலத்துக்கும்
- 6 அமைச்சிக்கும் பூநாற்றி அணைக்கு[ம்*] மெக்கும் தெற்கெல்லை திருப்பா-
- 7 றைக்குக் கிழக்குக் கன்னாட்டுக்கும் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் திரு-
- 8 ப்ப[ர*]றைக்கு மெக்கு கன்னாட்டுக்கும் பெருவரம்புக்கும் வடக்கும் மெ-
- 9 க்கெல்லை சூளைகுளமான காந்தளெரிக்குந் தான்றென்றிப்பிரான் கொ-

First Plate : Second Side.

- 10 யிலுந் தூசியூர்த் தென்வாய் வாயினின்று தெற்கு நொக்கிப்
- 11 (ப்) பொன பெருவழிக்கும் கிழக்கும் வடக்கெல்லை தூசியூருப்³ பழஜூர்-
- 12 க்குத் தெற்கும் தாமரைக்குளமும் இக்குளத்தால் நிற்கொவை
- 13 யும் இதடுவிவரன்⁴ ஹ-மியும் கற்றளியெரியான புதுக்குள-
- 14 மும் இக்குளத்து நிற்கொவையும் இக்குளக்கிழை-
- 15 லையாவது கிழக்கெல்லை கன்னாட்டுக்கு மெக்குந்
- 16 தெற்கெல்லை கட்டினாகன்கூவ விட்டெர்க்கு⁵ வடக்கு மெக்[கெ*]-
- 17 லை மூக்குறுகாவிற்கு கிழக்கும் வடக்கெல்லை எரிக்கு-
- 18 ந் தெற்கும் கணவநிலவூரான அமண்குடியும் அவ்வு-
- 19 ர் நன்புலமும் செப்புலமும் இவ்விசைத்த பெருநான்-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 20 (ெ)கெல்லையி நிலம் மெனெக்கின மரமும் கிழ-
- 21 நொக்கின கிணறும் புற்று முடக்குறையும் உடம்பொடி யா-
- 22 மை தவழ்ந்தது எப்பெர்ப்பட்ட நிலமும் தூசியூர்-
- 23 த் திருக்கற்றளி திருமூலஸூரனமுடைய பரஜெஸ்ஸரர்க்-
- 24 கு உடிமவ-டுவ்-ஞ் செய்து எல்லையுந் கல்-
- 25 லுந் தெரித்துக் குடுத்தென் கொல்லிமழவ-
- 26 ன் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டவஜெனென்[ர்*] கணவ-
- 27 திலவூ(ர்)ரான அமண்குடி தூசியூர் திருமூலட்டானம்-
- 28 உடைய வாரஜெஸ்ஸரர்க்கு உடிகவ-டுவ்-கம்⁶ செய்துகு-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 29 டுத்தென் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டபன்-
- 30 மனென் தூசியூர் திருமூலட்டான(ர்)முடைய ப-
- 31 ரமெஸ்ஸரருந் தமக்கு பஞ்சமாஸஸூடி கொட்-

¹ From impression prepared in 1914.

² The rest of this line and a part of the next are left blank.

³ Read தூசியூர்.

⁴ This word is written over an erasure.

⁵ Read ட்டேரி.

⁶ Read செய்து.

ia.

௧௭1 வி. ரஜேஸ் விபதஞ்சுக்கு ஸ்க்கி
 2
 3
 4
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 6
 7
 8

ib.

10
 12
 14
 16
 18

ii a.

20
 22
 24
 26
 28

30
 32
 34
 36

38

40

42

- 32 துகின்ற உவச்சகளுக்கு கணவதிகல்லூ(ர்)ரான
 33 அமண்குடி உடகழுவூ(ர்) செய்துகுடுத்தெ-
 34 ன் திரு[க்*]கற்றளிஉடைய பரமேஸ்வரர்[க்கு*][|*] இதனை இ-
 35 ரக்ஷிப்பான் ஸ்ரீபாடி மென் தலைமெலன் [|*] இதிற-
 36 க்கினான் வழி யெழுச்ச மொழியாம லாவான் [|*]

Third Plate : First Side.

- 37 கொல்லிமழவன் ஒற்றியூரன் பிரதிகண்டவன்மென் தாசு-
 38 யூர் தெவநிலம் பழந்தெவதானம் [கு]ளைகுள(ம்)ம[ர*]ன காந்தனெ-
 39 ரிக் குளத்தின்கிழ திருப்பாறைக்கு தெற்கு பிசமதெய[ம்*] [டு]சய்தமை-
 40 யில் அந்நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் கழாறு [|*] இதுக்கு எல்லை சிறுகரைக்கு
 41 மெக்கு பள்ளிச்சந்த[த்*]துக்கு வடக்கும் அமச்சிக்கு கிழ-
 42 க்கும் கல்லொடணைக்கு[ம்*] குசவன்கழனிக்கு[ம்*] தெற்கு-
 43 [ம்][|*] இந்ந[ர]ன்கு எல்லை நிலம் நிலத்துக்கு நிலம் குடித்-
 44 (த்)தென் [|*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In this year, (viz.), the fifth year, current by the king's order, of (the reign of) king Rājākēsarivarman, I, Kollimalavan Orriyūraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman¹ gave with libation of water, the following lands situated within the four great boundaries described, inclusive of the trees growing thereon, the wells sunk therein, the ant-hills, the *mudakkurai*, and containing all kinds of soil where inguanas run and the tortoises crawl,—after defining the boundaries and (boundary) stones, to the god (Paramēśvara) in the sacred Mūlasthāna of the sacred stone temple at Tūsiyūr:—

The fine land in the field to the south of Tūsiyūr in my division,—the eastern boundary of which is to the west of the land belonging to Piḍāriyār, of *Amaichehi* and of the dam called Pūnārū-anaṇai; the southern boundary is to the north of the big ridge and the hero-stone (*kaṇṇādu*) on the eastern side of the sacred boulder, and to the north of the hero-stone and big ridge on the western side of the (same) sacred boulder; the western boundary is to the east of the high road passing southwards from the southern entrance of Tūsiyūr and the tank called Śūlai-kulam *alias* Kāṇḍalēri as well as the temple of Tāntōṇṇiripirāṇ; the northern boundary is to the south of the old village of Tūsiyūr,—together with the lotus tank (Tāmarai-kulam), the *nirkōvai* (i.e., land covered with water) of this tank, the land of [Itadupiviraṇ],² and the tank known as Kaṇṇali-ēri *alias* Pudukkulam, together with the *nirkōvai* of this tank.

The boundaries of the lands under this tank are as follow:—The eastern boundary is to the west of the hero-stone; the southern boundary is to the north of the by-path called Kaṭṭināgaṅkūvaliṭṭēr; the western boundary is to the east of Mūkkurugā; the northern boundary is to the south of the tank; they include Kaṇavadinallūr *alias* Amaṇkudi together with the lands and the dry lands belonging to that village.

I, Orriyūraṇ Piradigaṇḍavarman, gave with libation of water, Kaṇavadinallūr *alias* Amaṇkudi to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna in Tūsiyūr. I gave with libation of water, Kaṇavadinallūr *alias* Amaṇkudi, to the god Paramēśvara of the sacred Mūlasthāna of the stone temple³ at Tūsiyūr and to the drummers who sound the five great sounds to him. The feet of him who protects this charity shall be on my head. He who acts against it, shall without faillose progeny in seven births.

¹ This name is repeated twice in the inscription.

² This is written over an erasure and the reading is tentative.

³ The words *Tirukkaraḷi-udaiya Paramēśvarar* have no connection with any other word in this sentence. Perhaps, கு has been omitted to be engraved.

As the lands situated to the south of the sacred boulder lying under the tank known as Śūlai-kulam also called Kāndalêri, an old *dēvadāna* land in Tūsiyūr, had been constituted as a *brahmadēya* and given away, I, Kollimalavan Orriyūran Piradiṇḍavarman made Kalāru as a substitute for that land. The boundaries of this land are:—

To the west of Sirukarai; to the north of the *Pallichchandam*; to the east of *Amaichchi* and to the south of the dam called Kallōḍanai and Kuśavanṇakalanī. As an exchange of land, I gave the land lying within these four boundaries.

INDEX

Figures enclosed in brackets refer to the pages of the Introduction; without brackets, they refer to the page of the volume; "n" after a figure to foot-notes; and "add" to the *Addenda and Corrigenda*. The following other abbreviations are used:—
Ch.==chief; *co.*==country; *di.*==district or division; *do.*==ditto; *dy.*==dynasty; *E.*==Eastern; *f.*==female; *k.*==king; *m.*==male; *mo.*==mountain; *ri.*==river; *s.a.*==same as; *sur.*==surname; *te.*==temple; *vi.*==village or town; *W.*==Western.

A

Abhaya, *sur.* of Kulōttunga I., 131.
 Abhimānamēru, *sur.* of Rājasimha III., 443, 459.
 Abhimānamēru-Mūvëndavēlan, *sur.* of Kādan
 Karunākaran, 428, 429.
 abhishēka or tiru-abhishēka, *ornament*, 475.
 abhishēka-dakshinā, 377, 383.
 abhishēka-maṇḍapa, 86, 329.
 āchārya-pūjanai, *honorarium of priests*, 273.
 Āchchan Angādi, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 Achcharapākkam, *vi.*, 131, 172, 173, 178, 193.
 Āchcherumān Vayiramēgan, *m.*, 24.
 Achchudan (Achryuta) Rājarājan, *ch.*, 38.
 aḍai-ōlai, *deed of contract*, 381.
 aḍaiṇṇaḍi, *a pledge*, 307.
 Adambulānāli, *vi.*, 253.
 Āḍanūr, *vi.*, 308.
 Āḍavallān, *m.*, 472, 473.
 Āḍavallān Śivavākyadēvan, *m.*, 83.
 adēyam, 256.
 adihkārin, *a magistrate*, 117, 136, 138, 151, 173,
 272, 379, 438.
 Āḍhipura, Āḍhipurī or Āḍhigrāma, *s.a.* Orriyūr,
 132, 236, 237, 242, 243.
 Āḍhipurīśvara, *te.*, 52, 132.
 Adhirāja, *title*, 446.
 Adhirājarāja-maṇḍalam, *sur.* of Kōngu, 31, 33,
 38, 39, 41, 42.
 Adhirājarāja-vaṇaṇḍu, *di.*, 38.
 Adhirājendra or Adhirājendradēva, *Chōla k.*, 89,
 113, 114, 115, 117, 129, 132, 136, 190, 191,
 192, 196, 197.
 Ādichchamaṇḍalam, *vi.*, 31, 48.
 Ādichcha-vāykkāl, *channel*, 279, 280.
 aḍigal, *a devotee*, 280.
 Adigal Gaṇḍan Mārambāvai, *Pallava queen*, [8],
 226, 227.
 Adigal Nakkan, *m.*, 293, 308, 312.
 Adigal Vīrasōlan, *m.*, 293.
 Ādimāṇḍalam, *vi.*, 118.
 Ādimūlēśvara, *te.*, 246, 248, 279, 299.
 Ādinagar, *vi.*, [19], [18], 469.
 Ādirājendra Tamīladaraiyan, *sur.* of Pichchan
 Ambalakkūtan, 118.
 Ādisēsha or Sēsha, *serpent*, 420, 461.
 Āditta Elāyiravan, *m.*, 330 n.
 Adittan, *m.*, 293.
 Ādittan Karṇalipirāṭṭi, *Chōla queen*, [13].
 Ādittaperumān Sōmāsi (Sōmayājin), *m.*, 111.
 Āḍitya I or Āḍityavarman, *Chōla k.*, [7], [8],
 [9], [10], [12], [13], 2n, 196, 221, 222, 223,
 224, 225, 226, 235, 238, 248, 289, 386, 387,
 418, 419, 449.

Āḍitya II or Āḍityavarman, *Chōla k.*, [8], [9],
 [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], 1, 21, 196, 249,
 262, 263, 278, 279, 289, 333, 356, 375, 377,
 379, 387, 420.
 Āḍityadēva, *god*, 364.
 Āḍityapīḍari, *s.a.* Pūdi Ādichchapiḍariyār, 228.
 Āḍityēśvara, *s.a.* Kōṇḍarāmēśvara, [9], 237,
 238.
 Āḍityēśvara-Mahādēva, *s.a.* Umāmahēśvara, 296.
 Āḍityēśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva, *god*, 276, 277.
 Adivan, *k.*, 446.
 Adiyaraiyamaṇḍalam, *vi.*, 234.
 Adiyārkkunallār, *commentator*, 379.
 Āḍuturai, *vi.*, 294.
 Āgai, *channel*, 171.
 agam, *earth or land*, [1]n.
 āgama, *scriptures*, 87, 113.
 Aganāmūru, *collection of poems*, [4]n.
 Agastya, *sage*, [1], 388, 422, 442, 443, 444, 446,
 457, 460, 464.
 Aggabōdhi, *Ceylon k.*, 449n.
 agni-kārya, *fire oblation*, 286.
 agnishtai, *fire pan*, 21, 22.
 Āgnivēśya, *author*, 458n.
 Āgnivēśya - kalpa, *work*, 443, 444, 458n, 462.
 agrahāra, *a Brāhmin village*, 443, 458n, 459.
 agram, ēkāgram or uttamāgram, *a rich meal*, 233,
 255n, 256n, 295.
 agrasālā, *a temple-kitchen*, 233n, 256n.
 agrasālā-para, *measure*, 233n.
 Āguḍi-nāḍu, *di.*, 117.
 Āhavamalla, *sur.* of Sōmēśvara I., 32, 37, 40, 52,
 56, 58, 63, 64, 65, 68n, 69n, 111, 112, 191, 193,
 194, 195, 198, 199n, 200, 201, 203.
 Āhavamalladēvan, *m.*, 86, 88.
 Āhavamalla kulakāla, *sur.* of Vīrarājendra I.,
 198.
 Āhavamallanai - mummaḍi - ven-kaṇḍa, *sur.* of
 Vīrarājendra I., 199.
 Aihole, *vi.*, [6].
 Aimbūni, *s.a.* Ammuṇḍi, 92, 94, 111, 113.
 aiṇṇaṇḍam, 321n.
 Airāvata, 460.
 Airāvātēśvara, *te.*, 226.
 Āitarēya-Brāhmaṇa, 416n.
 Aivarmalai, *vi.*, 448, 449.
 Aiyakki, *vi.*, 73.
 Aiyanar, *people*, 57.
 Aiyan Perumān, *m.*, 330.
 Aiyar, *father or elder brother*, 196.
 Aiyāraṇ Dēvargaṇḍan, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 Aiyāyirattirunūruva-Brahmapriyan, *see* Śiva-
 dāsan-Brahmapriyan.
 Ajagava, *Siva's bow*, 414n.
 Ajamiḍa, *mythical k.*, 417n.
 Ājivikas, *jainas*, 122.
 ājñapti, 443, 444, 459, 462, 465

Akalakāla, *sur. of Arikēsari Asamasaman Māra-*
varman, 445, 446, 464.
 Akalaṅka, *sur. of Vikrama-Chōla*, 180, 181.
 Akhaṇḍala, *s. a. Indra*, 464.
 Akkāla-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 113.
 akkam = $\frac{1}{12}$ *kāṣu*, 239n.
 Akkisarṁma-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 280.
 Alagiya-Chōla (Śōlan), *sur. of Alagiya-Pallavaṇ*,
 123.
 Alagiya-Chōla, *sur. of Chōla-Pillai*, 208.
 Alagiya-Pallavaṇ, *ch.*, 123.
 Alagiya-pāṇḍiyapuram, *vi.*, 159, 163.
 Alagiyaśōlanallūr, *sur. of Ūrṛukkāḍu*, 81.
 Ālaimēḍu, 57, 73, 75, 78, 83.
 Ālakā, *city of Kubēra*, 418.
 ālakku, *grain and liquid measure*, 3, 11, 96, 97,
 118, 189, 202, 227, 231, 233, 317, 318, 378,
 382.
 ālai, ālaiyam or ālaya, *a temple*, 24n.
 Āla-or Āla-nāḍu, *di.*, 244, 443, 444, 459, 459, 462.
 ālaṅgāḍu, *the banyan forest*, 134.
 Ālaṅgāḍu, *see Tiruvālaṅgāḍu*.
 Alanghyavikrama, *sur. of Arikēsari Asamasaman*
Māra-varman, 445, 446, 464.
 Ālaṅgudi, *vi.*, 126, 178, 183n, 191, 428, 429.
 Alankāramitraṇ, *m.*, 334.
 Alankāraṇ Śrīrāmaṇ, *m.*, 64.
 Alankāraṇ, *sur. of Ūrappōṇḍāṇ*, 83.
 Ālatti, *vi.*, 129, 161.
 Ālattūr, *vi.*, 234, 297.
 Ālavadi, *road*, 73, 78, 81.
 Ālavandāṇ, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 194.
 Ālichechiyaṇ, *ri.*, 141, 143.
 Āligudi, *vi.*, 171.
 Ālikkoṇṇai, *vi.*, 111, 259.
 Āli-nāḍu, *di.*, 237.
 Āliṅgaṇapākkam, *vi.*, 91.
 Āliṅjirakalam, *land*, 91.
 Āliyanilai-Māḍambi, *m.*, 232.
 Āliyūr-Uḍaiyaṇ, *m.*, 186.
 Āllūr, *vi.*, 73, 74.
 Ālōḍupōyil, *channel*, 46.
 Āludaiyār or Āludaiya-Nāyaṇār, *image of*, 210,
 212, 213, 216.
 Ālumbirāṇ, *m.*, 88.
 aluṁ-gaṇa, *see, gaṇa*.
 Ālvār, *a term of respect*, [14], 248, 249.
 Ālvār, *god*, 71, 74, 83, 103, 104, 186, 189, 294,
 295, 318, 361, 375.
 Ālvār, *a Vaiṣṇava saint*, [2], 148, 186, 187.
 Ālvārkuḷam, *tank*, 322.
 amaichechi, 479, 480.
 Amaṇbōgam, *field*, 365.
 Amaṅgavāyikkāl, *channel*, 435.
 Amaṅgudi, *vi.*, 259.
 Amaṇinārāyaṇa (or Avaninārāyaṇa)-chaturvēdi-
 maṅgalam, *sur. of Kāvādippākkam*, 96, 232,
 327, 329.
 Amani (or Avani) nārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,
vi., 242, 256, 257, 258, 259.
 Amani (or Avani) nārāyaṇa (nārāyaṇa) vadi, 324,
 332, 333, 334, 337, 370.
 amaṇji, *tax*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339,
 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 353, 360, 371.
 maṅkudi, *sur. of Kaṇavadinallūr*, 477, 489.

Amaṇpākkam, *s. a. Ammaṇambākkam*, 50, 51,
 59, 63.
 Amaṇpaṭṭi-kiṇaṇ, *well*, 436.
 Amarābharāṇa Śiyagaṅga, *ch.*, 89, 122, 123, 207.
 Amarabhujāṅga, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 387, 421.
 Amarakōṇ, *m.*, 217.
 Amarakōṇ-kiḷavaṇ Karaikkāṇḍaṇ, *m.*, 352.
 Amarāvati, *ri.*, 45.
 Amarāvati, *Indra's capital*, 416.
 Amarūṇṇimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 94.
 Ambalakkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 88.
 ambalam, *a hall*, 11, 300, 364, 365.
 ambalappuram, 300.
 Ambalattu-tūmbu, *source*, 204.
 Ambalavaṇ Tirupponḍaiyār, *m.*, 138.
 Ambar, *vi.*, [6].
 Ambarisha, *mythical k.*, 415n.
 Ambar-nāḍu, *di.*, 163, 427, 429.
 Ambāsamudram, *vi.*, [18], 448.
 Ambattūr, *vi.*, 73n, 286, 287, 288, 358.
 Ambattūrērikilnāḍu, *di.*, 358.
 Ambattūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 73, 76, 287.
 Ambilavāyil, *s. a. Āmulavāyal*, 133, 134.
 Āmbūr, *vi.*, 90, 165.
 Amirta-raṅjana-Śiva, *m.*, 253.
 Ammai, *see Kāraikkāl-Ammal*.
 Ammai-Nāchechiyār, *s. a. Vaṇḍārkuḷal-Nāchechi-*
yār, 384, 426.
 Ammaisēri, *vi.*, 426.
 Ammaiyaṇ, *god*, 384, 389, 425.
 Ammaṇambākkam, *vi.*, 50, 59.
 Ammaṅgā, *Ammaṅgādevī or Ammaṅgayambā,*
queen of E. Chalukya Rājārāja I., [21], 127,
 196, 435n.
 Ammāṭṭi Śīrāmbalavaṇ, *m.*, 360, 361.
 Ammūṇḍi, *vi.*, 92, 125.
 Ammuri-Ilam-Perundi, *m.*, 29.
 Amōghavarsha I., *Rūṣṭrakuṭa k.*, 90, 99.
 Āmulavāyal, *vi.*, 133n.
 Āmār, *vi.*, 165.
 Āmār-kōttam, *di.*, 165, 167, 261, 262, 356, 362,
 363, 438.
 Āmār-nāḍu, *di.*, 165.
 Anagharāyaṇ, *m.*, 217.
 Anai-Akkaraippūḍūr, *vi.*, 363, 364.
 Ānaichechēvagaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 62.
 Ānaikkaruḷku, *land*, 143.
 Ānaikkattāttūr, *vi.*, 363.
 Āṇaimalai, *vi.*, [9], [10], 239, 241, 442, 449.
 Āṇaimēṇṇiṇṇār, *s. a. Rājāditya*, [13], 279, 377,
 378.
 Āṇaippākkam, *vi.*, 391, 433, 434.
 Analapratāpa, *k.*, 385, 414.
 Ānandabōdhaṇ Vēlāṇ Śrīrāmadēvaṇ, *m.*, 82.
 Anantavarman, *sur. of Chōḍagaṅga* 20, 62n, 130.
 Anantavikrama - Mūvēṇḍavēlāṇ, *sur. of Paraṇ-*
jōdi Nīlaṇ, 307.
 āṇaṭṭi, *office*, 289, 292, 301, 308, 445, 462, 465.
 Anavaratasundaranallūr, *sur. of Kuvalaikkōḍu*,
 16.
 āṇavāy-ḍaṇḍam, *tax*, 226.
 Anbarakāḍiyāṇ, *sur. of Kaṇperṇāṇ Maṇṇuṇṇiṇṇāṇ*
 473.
 Anbil, *vi.*, [3], [4], [8], [12]n, [14], [15], 383.
 Anḍakkudi, *vi.*, 163.
 Anḍa-nāḍu, *di.*, 445, 450, 465.

- Andanallūr, *vi.*, 285.
 Andanūr, *vi.*, 31, 41, 42, 47, 48.
 Andanūr-vāykkāl, *channel*, 250, 264.
 andār, 472, 473.
 Āndāyakkudi, *vi.*, 159, 162.
 Andhaka, *demon*, 425.
 Andhra (Andira) or Āndhra-maṇḍala (or vishaya)
the Telugu country, 33n, 57, 90, 128, 387, 421.
 Āndhra road, 90.
 Anduvanallūr Tiruvālandurāi, *vi.*, 285.
 Aṅga, *mythical k.*, 415n.
 Aṅgādi-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 119, 120.
 aṅgādikūli, *tax*, 222, 391.
 Aṅgarai, *vi.*, 111, 330.
 Anikilān, *m.*, 362.
 Aniruddha-Brahmādhiraṇ, *m.*, [15].
 aṅkurārpanam, *ceremony*, 189n.
 Anṇalaṇ, *ch.*, 37.
 aṇṇālikkāl, *grain measure*, 241.
 Anṇāmalai, *m.*, 253.
 Anṇārrūr, *vi.*, 292.
 Anṇigere, *vi.*, 53.
 Anṇigere-nādu, *di.*, 53.
 Anniyudaiyān, *m.*, 475.
 Anpūndi, *vi.*, 92n.
 antarāya, *tax*, 121n, 162n, 177, 253, 307, 308.
 Aṇukka-Nambi, *m.*, 46.
 Anupamā, *Chōla princess*, [15], 257.
 Anuṣṭubh, *metre*, 450, 462.
 Aparājita or Aparājita-vikramavarman, *Pallava k.*,
 [8], [10], 221, 386, 419, 449.
 Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *sur. of Ukkal*,
 2, 3.
 Āpatsahāyēśvara, *te.*, 294.
 Apūrvī, *Vedic Brahmins*, 82n, 233.
 aṇachchālābhōgam, 389, 427.
 Araikkālmukkāl, *field*, 106.
 arai, (ara, araiy or arav)-ōlai, *a document*, 163n,
 275, 437.
 Araisaṅuttam, *pond*, 64.
 Araistūr, *vi.*, [10], 30, 109, 111, 231, 232, 427,
 428, 448.
 Araistūr-vādagai, *vi.*, 109, 111.
 Araiyaṇ Araṅgaṇ Pīsaṅgaṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Araiyaṇ, *ch.*, 59, 63.
 Araiyaṇ Karpagam, *m.*, 307.
 Araiyaṇ Kuditaṅgi, *ch.*, 163.
 Araiyaṇ Madurāntakaṇ, *ch.*, 162.
 Araiyaṇ Nāgaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Tirumaṇappichchaṇ*,
 469, 470.
 Araiyaṇ Rājarājaṇ or Rājarājaṇ, *ch.*, 38, 39,
 41.
 Araiyaṇ Śikandaṇ, *m.*, 427, 428.
 Araiyaṇ Śivakkolundu, *m.*, 293.
 Araiyaṇ Māṇḍagavaṇ, *m.*, 119.
 Araiyaṇ, *vi.*, 139.
 Araṇaippuram, *vi.*, 71, 73, 74, 82, 83, 177.
 Araṇēri, *m.*, 389, 426.
 Araṅgaṇ Tiruchchirrambalamudaiyān, *m.*, 38.
 Araṇi, *vi.*, 118, 139.
 Arantāṅgi Pōrmugavīraṇ, *m.*, 276.
 Arapadaśekharamāṅgalam, *vi.*, 450.
 Araśaraṇālayakkōṇ, *sur. of Araiyaṇ Māṇḍa-*
gavaṇ, 119.
 Araśanārāyaṇaṇ Ēlisaimōgaṇ, *m.*, 210.
 Āraṭṭa, *vo.*, 388, 422.
 Arattamukki (or mikki)dāsaṇ, *m.*, 79, 81, 83,
 84.
 Aravābharaṇadēva, *image*, 470, 471, 475.
 Aravābharaṇaṇ Eduttapādam, *m.*, 471.
 Aravābharaṇaṇ Iyabaradanādaṇ, *m.*, 471.
 Ārāvamudu Śrīrāmaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Ārvala-kūrram, *di.*, 428.
 Ārāvamurta or Ārāvamudu, *m.*, 392, 439.
 Araviṇḍaṇ Kuraṇ, *m.*, 472.
 Arayaṇ, *m.*, 171.
 Arayaṇ Ambala *m.*, 151.
 Arayaṇ garuḍavāhaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Aravērru-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 437n.
 archchanābhōga or archchanāvṛitti, 247, 281, 325,
 327, 329, 330, 334, 335, 343, 344n, 346, 348,
 364, 369.
 Archuḍaṇ (Achyuta) Rājanārāyaṇaṇ Tonḍaimāṇ,
m., 39.
 Aridhīraṇ, *m.*, 91.
 Arikēsari Asamasaman Māvarman, *Pāṇḍya k.*,
 442, 445, 446, 447, 464.
 Arikēsari, *sur. of Tērmāraṇ Rājasimha I.*, 442,
 443, 446, 447, 448, 457.
 Arikēsari, *m.*, 445, 463.
 Arikēsarinallūr, *sur. of Śiṇṇamaṇūr*, 450.
 Arikulakēsari, Arikulakēsariḍēva, Arikulakēsari-
 yār, Arikēsari or Arindigai, *s.a. Arimjaya*, [13],
 [14], [16], 228, 229, 236, 246, 247, 248, 249,
 257, 387.
 Arikulavāraṇa-Nambi, *m.*, 151.
 Arimjaya, Ariṇjaya or Ariṇjigai, *Chōla k.*, [12],
 [13], [14], [16], 22, 102, 196, 236, 246, 263,
 264, 279, 377, 387, 419n.
 Arindama, Arindigai or Arindigai-Perumānār,
s.a. Arimjaya, [13], [14], [16], 236, 237,
 246n, 387.
 Ariṇjīśvara or Ariṇjigai-Īśvara, *s.a. Chōlēśvara*,
 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 387.
 Ariṇjigai-vāykkāl, *channel*, 246, 247.
 Ariśil, *vi.*, 155n.
 Ārita Nakkaṇ, *m.*, 318.
 Aritaṇ Charitaṇ, *m.*, 318.
 Arivālvadi, *road*, 73.
 Arivāraṇa, *elephant*, 56n.
 Arividurkkōṭṭai, *vi.*, 448.
 Āriyam or Āriyakkūttu, *dance*, 378, 379.
 Ariyapillai, *Hoyasā queen*, 122n.
 Ariyapillai, *queen of Amarābharaṇa Śīyagaṅga*,
 122, 123, 208.
 Ariyar (or Āriya) Perumbākkam, *vi.*, 266, 269,
 273.
 Arjuna, *epic hero*, 442, 443, 446, 457, 460.
 Arjuna, *tree*, 155.
 Ārkkādu, *vi.*, 252.
 Ārkkāttu-kūrram, *di.*, 252, 253.
 Arkōnam, *vi.*, 185n, 208n.
 Ārrūr, *vi.*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 263, 264, 387.
 Ārrūr-tuṇjina-dēva, *sur. of Ariṇjaya*, 23, 25, 27,
 387.
 Arukēsarinallūr, *s.a. Śiṇṇamaṇūr*, 244.
 Arulāla-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 85, 168.
 Arulāladāsaṇ, *sur. of Kumāra-Peruvāniyaṇ Dēvaṇ*
Ēriṇjodi, 143.
 Arulāla-Perumāl, *te.*, 148n, 186, 189, 190, 208n.
 Arulśarmaṇ, *m.*, 11.
 Arumbākilān, *m.*, 329.
 Arumbākilān Vaigundaṇ Kādādi, *m.*, 438.

Arumolideva, *see* Arumolivarman,
 Arumolideva, *street*, 30, 143.
 Arumolidevachchēri, *vi.*, 437.
 Arumolidevan, *gram and liquid measure*, 8, 113,
 139, 143.
 Arumolideva-valanādu, *sur. of* Ten-kaḍuvāy, 38,
 114, 162, 295, 427, 428, 429, 437, 438, 465,
 469.
 Arumolināgai, *queen of* Vīrarājendra, 33, 189n,
 197.
 Arumolināgai, *measure*, 189, 190.
 Arumolināgai, *queen of* Pārthivēndravarman,
 343.
 Arumoli Poṅkāri, *m.*, 159.
 Arumoli-Tiruppanāṅgaḍu, *vi.*, 43.
 Arumoli-Viḷupparaiyar, *ch.*, 136.
 Arundhatī, *wife of* Vasishṭha, 185, 420.
 Arunidi Kaliyan or Marudūrudaiyān Arunidi
 Kaliyan, *ch.*, 239, 241, 242.
 Arumoli (or Arumoli) varman or Arumoli
 (or Arumoli), *sur. of* Rājarāja I., [16], 22,
 387, 420, 421.
 Ārūraṅ Udaiyadivākaraṅ, *m.*, 293, 308, 312.
 Aruvā-Kiḷāl-Muttigaṇḍaṅ, *m.*, 26.
 Aruvā-nādu, *di.*, 227, 228.
 Ārvala-kūṛraṅ, *di.*, 429, 438.
 Ārya, *race*, [1].
 Āryamaṅ or Āryamā, *mythical k.*, 384, 414.
 Āryāvarta, *co.*, [4]n.
 Asōka, *Mauṛya emperor*, [1], [2], [4]n.
 Asōkaiyaṅ, *ch.*, 59, 63, 68.
 astikkadai, *fierce battle*, 231, 232n.
 Āsuras, 414n, 463.
 āsvamēdha, *sacrifice*, 233, 416n, 442, 457.
 Āsvamēdhika-Parvan, *a chapter of the Mahābhā-*
rata, 416n.
 Ātakūr, *vi.*, 386n.
 ātchi, *possession*, 13.
 Ātimāna, *Pallava title*, 268n.
 Ātimānappādi (or pāti), *quarter of* Conjeeveram,
 265, 266, 267, 272, 273, 274.
 āttai-vāriyar, *annual supervision committee*, 275.
 āttakam, 257.
 Attāni Śīyārūraṅ Muḍi-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, *ch.*, 38,
 39.
 Ātti, *Chōla emblem*, 385n.
 Ātti, *tree*, 431, 433, 435.
 Attivāraṅ, *elephant*, 56.
 Attivarman, *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Attiyūr or Tiruvattiyūr, *s.a.* Conjeeveram, 186,
 189.
 Attōṇa-chaturvēdibhaṭṭaṅ, *m.*, 249.
 aṭṭukkirai, *tax*, 311, 391.
 āvaṇakkālī, 155n.
 āvaṇam or vilaiyāvaṇam, *sale-deed*, 12, 16, 105n.
 Avaniḥūlāmaṇi Māṇavarman, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 446.
 Avanimuḷududaiyāl, *title of* Tyāgavalli, 177,
 178.
 Avaniśikhāmaṇi, *sur. of* Dēvayaṅ Puḷalakkāṅ,
 378.
 āvāsāt, āvāsakāt or vāsakāt, 459n.
 Avattaikilavaṅ, *m.*, 330.
 Āvikshīt, *mythical k.*, 416n.
 aviśu, *oblation*, 227.
 Āvūr, *vi.*, 8.
 Āvūr-kūṛraṅ, *di.*, 8, 373.
 Āvūr-nāṭṭu-Vēlār, *m.*, 235.

Ayalaṅji Maṇraṅ, *m.*, 378.
 Ayandambākkam, *vi.*, 117.
 Āyavēl, *the Āy k.*, 446.
 Ayidi Kādādi, *m.*, 28.
 Āyirattirunūṛruvaṅ, *m.*, 5, 6.
 Āyirattirunūṛruvaṅ, *family name*, 346n.
 Āyirattirunūṛruvaṅ Muḍikonḍāṅ, *m.*, 155.
 Āyiravaṅ Ayyaṅ Perumāṅ, *m.*, 438.
 Āyiravaṅ Araṅgaṅ, *m.*, 437.
 Āyiravēli, *vi.*, 446.
 Ayirūr, *vi.*, 446.
 Ayōdhya, *vi.*, 53, 58n, 62n.
 Ayyaṅ or Ayyaṅār, *village god*, 9n, 343, 344.

B

Bādāmi, *vi.*, [6].
 Bāhūr, *vi.*, 92.
 Balakkāra, *m.*, 59n.
 Bali, *mythical k.*, 415n.
 bali or śrībali, 20, 189, 202, 301, 318, 332, 334,
 335, 343, 344, 349, 354, 369, 370, 371.
 Bāṇa, *family*, [6], [9], 22n, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92,
 93n, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103.
 Bāṇavaram, *vi.*, 89.
 Bāṇavāsi, *vi.*, 16, 32, 130.
 Bāṇavidyādhara, *see* Vāṇavidyādhara.
 Beḷatūru, *vi.*, 130, 190.
 Beḷvoḷa, *co.*, 53.
 Benares, *vi.*, 385, 415.
 Bengal, *co.*, [19], 57n.
 Berar, *co.*, [19].
 Bezvada, *vi.*, 65.
 Bhadrā, *ri.*, 32.
 Bhadrāṅkadu Vāsudēva-Bhaṭṭa Sōmāsiyār (Sō-
 mayājīn), *m.*, 338.
 Bhagavadgīta, *Sanskrit work*, 336.
 Bhagavatī, *te.*, 445, 465.
 Bhagavati-vāykkāl, *channel*, 353.
 Bhagīratha, *mythical solar k.*, [19], 385, 416,
 424.
 Bhaktajanēśvara, *te.*, 197, 198.
 Bhāradvāja, *sage.*, 460.
 Bharata, *mythical k.*, [4], 385, 416, 458.
 Bhārata, *channel*, 70.
 Bhārata, *war*, 443, 444, 460.
 Bhārgava, *s.a.* Paraśurāma, 423.
 Bhāṣara, *m.*, 443, 444, 458, 462.
 Bhāṣkaraneṭṭi, *m.*, 444, 462.
 Bhaṭāra, *god*, 244.
 Bhaṭṭa Kumārila, *see* Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.
 Bhaṭṭārikā, *s.a.* Durgā, 136n.
 Bhaṭṭas, *learned Brahmanas*, 222, 223, 232, 327,
 329.
 bhaṭṭavṛitti, 377.
 Bhavanandi - Chaturvēdibhaṭṭa - Sōmayājīyār, *m.*,
 257.
 Bhavanandi Sahasraṅ, *m.*, 71.
 Bhavāni, *s. a.* Pārvatī, 413.
 Bhīma, *Andhra k.*, 387, 421.
 Bhīmarāja, *m.*, 59n.
 Bhīmavaram, *vi.*, 130.
 Bhīṣma-Parvan, *of the Mahābhārata*, [1] n.
 Bhōjadēva, *Dhārā k.*, [19].
 Bhramarālakāmbā, *s. a.* Vaṇḍārkuḷal-Nāchchiyār,
 384.
 Bhṛigu, *race*, 423.
 Bhūti Vikramakēśarin, *Koḍumbālūr ch.*, 249.

Bhuvanamuḍudaiyāl, *sur. of* Dīnachintāmaṇi, 177.
 Bhuvanamuḍudaiyāl, *sur. of* Tyāgavallī, 178.
 Bhuvanamuḍudaiyāl, *queen of* Kulōttuṅga III., 210, 212, 215, 219.
 Bilhana, *poet*, 129.
 Bīlvanāthēśvara, *te.*, 58, 88, 89, 90, 104, 108.
 Bindumatī, *f.*, 415n.
 Bītraguṇṭa, *vi.*, 207n.
 boar, *crest*, 132.
 bow, *emblem*, 443, 460.
 Brahmā, *god*, [20], 413n, 458, 462.
 brahmachārin, 227n, 285n, 319n.
 Brahmadēśam, *vi.*, [21].
 brahmadēya, 113, 154, 155, 171, 173, 222, 228, 229, 231, 241, 242, 244, 247, 248, 256, 257, 259, 280, 284, 291, 292, 293, 298, 300, 307, 309, 311, 312, 376, 381, 389, 390, 392, 427, 428, 450, 459, 461, 462, 480.
 Brahmādhiraṇṇa, *sur. of* Tiruvikrama-Bhaṭṭar, 2, 3.
 Brahmaguṇākaravidyāsthāna - Maṅglāditya - Sa-maṇḍasapriyaṇ, *sur. of* Āyirattirunūruvaṇ, 5, 6.
 Brāhmaṇa, *caste*, [4]n, [17], 2, 3, 13, 14, 21, 46n, 57, 90, 95, 103, 111, 113, 227, 231, 233, 239, 241, 256, 269, 273, 274, 275, 298, 299, 300, 301, 307, 308, 312, 318, 319, 320, 327, 337, 374, 375, 389, 416n, 420, 464, 469.
 Brahmāṇī, *shrine of*, 136, 139.
 Brahmapriyaṇ, *m.*, 86, 88, 356.
 Brahmapriyaṇ, *see* Śivadāsaṇ Brahmapriyaṇ.
 Brahmaputrā, *vi.*, [1]n.
 Brahmasthāna, *or* Brahmasthāna-maṇḍapa, 22, 57, 63, 70, 253.
 Brihadīśvara, *te.*, [17], 31, 235.
 Brīhajātaka, *work*, [1].
 Brihaspati, *sage*, 415, 418, 425, 458.
 Brihatsaṁhitā, *work*, 388n, 422n.
 British Museum, [6], 118n.
 Buddhāmitra, *author*, 197.
 Buddhism, *religion*, [2].
 Buddhist, [2], [22].
 Budha, *mythical k.*, 446.
 Burmah, 195.
 Bātuga, *W. Gaṅga ch.*, [12], 386.

C

Ceylon, *island*, [2], [10], [11], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [22], 39, 52, 53, 59, 206, 231, 232, 245, 255, 267, 275, 292, 386, 387, 390, 421, 444, 450, 470, 473, 474, 476, 477, 478.
 Chakra (or Chakkara)-kōṭṭa (or kōṭṭam), *see* Sak-kara-kōṭṭam.
 Chakrapāṇi Nambī, *m.*, 17, 18.
 Chakravartin, *title*, 131, 181.
 Chakravartin, *biruda of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Chalukya, Eastern, *dy.*, [21], 65, 125, 126, 127, 128, 132, 147n, 172n, 179, 194, 203, 208, 243, 435n.
 Chālukya, Western, *dy.*, [6], [16], [17], [18], 32, 33, 49, 52, 53, 55n, 56n, 57, 58, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 118, 140, 161n, 180, 193, 194n, 195, 197, 204, 388, 389, 422, 423, 425.
 chāmaras, *fly-whisks*, 37.
 Champaka, *tree*, 311.
 Chāmundaṛāja *or* Chāvundaṛāja, *ch.*, 32, 37.

Chāmundaśvarī, *shrine of*, 137.
 Chāṇḍēśvara *or* Ādi-(*or* Ādidāsa-) Chāṇḍēśvara, *god*, 46, 111, 114, 167, 171, 172, 186.
 Chandradēva-Annatti-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 75.
 Chandradēva-Attāli-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 64.
 Chandraditya, *family*, 221n.
 Chandrajit, *mythical solar k.*, 385, 415.
 Chārudēvi, *Pallava queen*, [6].
 Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *sur. of* Kāyvaṇṭaṇḍalam, 173.
 Chāvēr (śāvēr), 147n.
 Chēbrōlu, *vi.*, 179, 180, 181.
 Chellūr, *vi.*, 43, 77, 125, 128, 130, 131, 132, 156n, 178, 179, 181.
 Chendalūr, *vi.*, [6].
 Cheṅgaṇṇāṇ, *see* Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ.
 Chēra, *co.*, [1], [2], [3], [4], [8], [12], [13], [15]n, 24n, 29, 31, 52, 55n, 56, 72, 119, 120n, 130, 185, 194, 203, 206, 218, 221, 222, 235, 236, 368n, 385n, 386, 418n, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 460, 469, 470.
 Chēūr, Chēvūr *or* Chēvūra, *vi.*, [14], 148n, 387.
 Chidambaram, *vi.*, [13], 30n, 43, 125, 127, 130, 131, 144n, 158n, 182, 185n, 196n, 204, 205, 210, 212n, 214, 216n, 288, 386.
 China, *co.*, [21].
 Chingleput, *vi.*, 143.
 chinnam, *a fraction*, 281.
 Chinnaṁapēt, *vi.*, 134.
 Chitrādhavaṇ, *mythical solar k.*, 385, 416, 417n.
 Chitra-kūṭa *painting hall*, 15.
 Chitrakūṭa, (*or* kōṭa), *vi.*, [19], 466.
 Chitrakūṭa, *s.a.* Saundararāja-Perumāḷ *te.* 139, 140.
 Chitra-maṇḍapa, 266, 272.
 Chitramuyari, *vi.*, 443, 445, 446, 450, 460.
 Chitraratha I., *mythical Chōla k.*, 385, 416.
 Chitraratha II., *mythical Chōla k.*, 385, 417.
 Chitrāśva, *mythical k.*, 385, 416, 417.
 Chōḍa, *s.a.* Chōla, [1], [2], [4]n, 179, 180.
 Chōḍa, *Veluṇḍu ch.*, 128, 180.
 Chōḍa-Gaṅga, *E. Gaṅga k.*, [22], 62n, 130, 196.
 Chōla, *co.*, [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24n, 29, 30, 32, 33n, 37n, 49, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 68, 69, 70, 89, 90, 92, 100n, 101, 102, 104, 106, 111, 113, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 140, 147, 156, 159n, 162, 167n, 173n, 174, 176, 179, 180, 181, 182, 189n, 190n, 196, 197, 199n, 206, 218, 221, 222, 226, 229, 235, 237, 238, 239n, 242, 250, 251, 255, 257, 258, 262, 265, 267, 268, 272, 284, 288, 333, 356, 373, 375, 383, 384, 385, 386, 388, 413, 420, 421, 423n, 441, 444, 445, 446, 448, 449, 461, 465, 469, 477.
 Chōlagāṅgam, *tank*, [22], 389, 425.
 Chōlagāṅga, *sur. of* Rājendra-Chōla I., [20], [22].
 Chōlakulasundara, *sur. of* Virarājendra I., 198.
 Chōlamahārāja, *title*, [4] n.
 Chōla (Chōḍa *or* Śōla)-maṇḍala, *the Chōla country*, 8, 117, 134, 162, 181, 190, 429.
 Chōlanārāyaṇa, *legend*, 130.
 Chōla-Pāṇḍya, *or* Śōla-Pāṇḍiyaṇ, *title*, [18], [22], 33, 36, 62, 388, 423.

Chôla-Pândya, *s. a.* Sundarachôla-Pândya, [18].
 Chôla-Pillai, *ch.*, 208.
 Chôlapuram, *vi.*, 125, 126, 144, 159.
 Chôla or Chôlavarman, *mythical k.*, [4], 385, 416.
 Chôlendra, *sur. of* Madhurântaka, 33, 36n.
 Chôlêndrasimha, *sur. of* Râjendra-Chôla I., 424.
 Chôlendra (or Sôlendra)simhêsvara, *s. a.* Sôma-nâthêsvara, 22, 23, 24, 29, 30.
 Chôlêsvara, *te.*, 22, 159, 387.
 Chûdâmanivarman, *Kotâha k.*, [21].
 Chûdâmanivarmavihâra, *Buddhist Monastery*, [21].
 Chûlal, *vi.*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Chuliyê, *s. a.* Chôla, [4]n, 386.
 Cintra, *vi.*, 27.
 Coimbatore, *vi.*, 46.
 Comorin, cape, 13n, 22n, 68n, 130, 144, 147n, 159, 225, 233, 275, 332, 335, 339, 345, 346, 347, 348, 357, 362, 365, 371.
 Conjeeveram, *vi.*, [1], [5], [7], [12], 1, 79, 117n, 125, 126, 128, 129, 140, 143n, 163, 168n, 178, 186, 187, 206, 207, 208n, 212n, 267, 268, 336, 342, 348, 388.
 Cranganore, *vi.*, 31.
 Cuddalore, *vi.*, 209.
 Cumbum, *vi.*, 450.
 Cupid, *god*, 415, 419, 420.

D

Dabhrasabhâ, *the golden hall at* Chidambaram, 386, 419.
 Dekhan, *co.*, [6].
 Dakshina, *co.*, [6].
 Dakshina-Lâdam, *see* Takkana - Lâdam.
 Dakshinâmûrti, *shrine of*, 282.
 Dakshinâpatha, 224n.
 Dakshina-Râdha, *Part of* Bengal, [19], 466.
 Dakshina-Virâta, *s. a.* Southern Berar, 466.
 Dalavânur, *vi.*, [6].
 Dâmal, *vi.*, 254.
 damanaga, *plant*, 392, 437.
 Dâmar (or Dâmal)-kôttam, *di.*, 253, 254, 342, 368, 374, 375.
 Dâmar-nâdu, *di.*, 373, 374.
 Dâmôdara, *m.*, 392, 439.
 Dâmôdara-bhattan, *m.*, 358, 427, 429.
 Dâmôdarachêri, *vi.*, 335, 336.
 Dâmôdara-Kramavittan, *m.*, 74.
 Dâmôdiran Sîrâlân, *m.*, 428, 429.
 dâna, *a demon*, 413.
 danâ, *a fine*, 38, 43, 121, 122.
 Dañabutti, *vi.*, [18], [19], 466.
 Dañanâyaka or Dañanâtha, *a commander*, 33, 65n, 68, 69, 130, 387, 388, 422, 424.
 Dañîsvara, *te.*, 250, 252.
 Dantipirâttiyar, *queen of* Râjendra-Chôla I., [21].
 Dantivarman, *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Dappula V, *Ceylon k.*, [11].
 Daśapânman, *ch.*, 58, 63.
 daśavandam, *tax*, 162.
 Daśavarman, *s. a.* Yaśovarman, 58n.
 Daushyanti, *s. a.* Bharata, 416.
 Dayâparappêrambalam, *hall*, 299, 300.
 days of the week :—
 Friday, 71, 73, 74, 239, 241, 283, 284.
 Monday, 70, 82, 83, 87, 191, 210, 449.
 Sunday, 182, 185, 201n, 202.

Thursday, 63, 79, 122 n, 173, 276, 277, 278.
 Tuesday, 88, 217, 219.
 Wednesday, 53, 57, 86.
 days, lunar :—
 First fortnight :—
 first, 87.
 second, 57, 73, 74n,
 fifth, 86.
 sixth, 173.
 ninth, 276.
 twelfth, 74.
 thirteenth, 182, 185.
 fourteenth, 79.
 full-moon, 102.
 Second, fortnight :—
 second, 88.
 fifth, 210, 219.
 eighth, 63, 279.
 ninth, 83.
 fourteenth, 70.
 days, solar :—
 first, 207.
 eighteenth, 284.
 dēva, *a god*, 414n.
 dēvadâna, 70, 78 n, 94, 117, 134, 138, 143, 148, 162, 171, 199, 227, 228, 234, 241, 242, 245, 249, 250, 256, 257, 259, 276, 278, 280, 284, 285, 289, 291, 292, 293, 299, 300, 301, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312, 322, 351, 356, 362, 363, 373, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 389, 390, 391, 392, 426, 427, 428, 429, 436, 437, 438, 461, 462, 465, 469, 480.
 Dēvaḍi (Tēvaḍi) Kamalan, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 dēva (or dēvar)kanmi, *temple servants*, 44, 228, 230, 231, 264, 292, 376, 379.
 Dēvakumâra-Kramavittan, *m.*, 251.
 Dēvakuttai, *land*, 364.
 Dēvan, *m.*, 277.
 Dēvanâr, *m.*, 361, 367.
 Dēvanâtha, *ch.*, 69, 194, 202.
 Dēvandainâdan Arulâlân, *m.*, 168.
 Dēvan Divâkaran, *m.*, 473.
 Dēvaṅguḍi, Dēvaṅkuḍi or Tēvaṅguḍi, *vi.*, 216, 256, 427, 428.
 Dēvan Iḍaṅgonḍân, *m.*, 159.
 dēvaradiyâr, *temple servants*, 48, 227, 334, 372, 471, 473.
 Dēvâram, *Sâva scripture*, 30, 31n, 89n, 93, 132, 134, 143, 152, 155, 182, 230, 281, 294, 296, 297, 298, 375, 382, 384.
 Dēvayan Pulalakkan, *f.*, 378.
 Dēvêndran, *biruda of* Parântaka I., [10].
 Dhârâ, *co.*, [19], 33, 37, 69n, 132, 134, 466n.
 Dharânimulududaiyâl, *queen of* Vikrama-Chôla, 182, 185.
 Dhârâvaraisan (Dhârâvarsha), *Sinda ch.*, [19], 128 and *add.*, 132 and *add.*, 134 and *add.*, 466.
 dharma (or dhanma)kattalai, *gold weight*, 367.
 dharmakattalai-tulai-nirai, *standard weight*, 30, 373, 374.
 Dharmapâla, *k.*, [19], 388, 424, 469.
 Dharmapriyan, *m.*, 11.
 Dharmapuri, *vi.*, 208.
 dharmâsana, danmâdana or dhanmâsana, *court of justice*, 13, 239, 253, 342, 346, 354, 357.
 Dharmêsvara, *te.*, 49, 87.
 Dhâtaki, *tree.*, 385, 417.
 Dhishapa, *s. a.* Bṛhaspati, 418, 425.

Dhundhu, *demon*, 385, 414.
 Dhundhumāra, *mythical k.*, 385, 414.
 digvijaya, 387, 388, 421, 422.
 Dikshita, 113.
 Dimirice, *s.a.* Dravida, [1].
 Dīnachintāmani, *sur. of* Madhurāntakī, 131, 156, 158, 159, 177, 178.
 Dīrghabāhu, *mythical k.*, 385, 415.
 Divākara-bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 358.
 Dōnaiya-bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 83.
 Dōṇasūra-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 168.
 Dōṇa [Drōṇa, Dōṇaya, Dōṇiya or Dōṇasārman, forms of, 168 n.
 Dōṇaya-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 73
 Drākshārāma, *vi.*, 126, 180.
 Drāmiḍa, Draviḍa or Drāviḍa, *s.a.* Dramiḍa, [1], [2].
 Dramiḍa or Dramiḍa, *cv.*, [1], 128n.
 Dramiḍaka or Dramiḍaka, *s.a.* Tamilakam, [1].
 Draviḍas, the five, 129.
 Dravidian, *race*, [1], [2].
 Drōṇa, *sage*, 168 n.
 Drutavilambitam, *metre*, 450.
 Dūdakari (Dūta-Hari) Tīruvaraṅgamaṇi-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 164.
 Durgā, or Durgā-Bhaṭṭārī or Bhaṭṭārakī, *goddess*, [7], 136n, 335, 336, 350.
 Dushyanta, *mythical k.*, 385, 416
 Dūsi, *vi.*, 8.
 Dūta-Hari, *s. a.* Krishna, 164n, 190n.
 Dūtahari-Īlaiyarulāla-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Dūtahari Niṇṇanārāyaṇa Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Dūtahari-Vēṇṇaikōtta-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Dvāpara, *age*, 186n, 385, 417.
 Dvārā, *vi.*, 49.
 Dvēdaigōmapuram or Vēdagōmapuram, *vi.*, 247, 427, 429.

E

Echechapperumāṇ, *m.*, 239.
 echchōṇu or echchoṇu, *tax*, 143n, and *add.*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349, 353, 355, 360, 371.
 eclipse, solar, 262, 263, 354.
 Êdagam or Tiruvēdagam, *vi.*, 212n.
 Edarpuram, *vi.*, 357n, 367.
 Êdēdōre, 2000, *di.*, [17], 466.
 Edirili-Chōḷa-Śambuvārāyaṇ, *sur. of* Alagiya Chōḷa a'ias Chōḷa-Pillai, 208.
 Ediriliśōḷāṇ, flower-garden of, 216.
 Edirili - Śōḷa-Śambuvārāyaṇ, *sur. of* Alagiya-Pallavaṇ, 123.
 Eduttapādāṇ Inburiṇundāṇ, *m.*, 158.
 êkabhōga, 462.
 êkāgram, *see* agram.
 Ekāmrānātha, *te.*, 79, 122, 140n, 207, 212n.
 Ekanāyakaṇ, *measure*, 158, 159.
 Êkavīra, *Pallava title*, 268n.
 Êkavīrappādi, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275.
 Êlagam, *s. a.* Êdagam, 212.
 Êlākkaiyar, *s. a.* Tōlācheviyar, 266, 268, 275.
 Êlālūr, *vi.*, 295.
 êlavai, *tax*, 38, 43, 43.
 Êlāyiranilaiyalaṅgaṇ Karpagādittaṇ, *m.*, 330n.
 Êlāyirava . . . ma . . ., *sur. of* Śandiraṇ Arunūruvaṇ, 332.
 Êlinūr, *s. a.* Êlālūr, 277, 295.

Êlisai, *explained*, 156n.
 Êlisai-Vallabhī, *queen of* Kulōttuṅga I, 131, 156, 158, 162, 177, 178.
 Ellaikkāl-kāvu, 264.
 Êllore, *vi.*, 172n, 180.
 Êlūlagudaiyāl or Êlūlagamudaiyāl, *s.a.* Êlisai-Vallabhī, 177, 178.
 Êlumbūr (Egmore), *vi.*, 133.
 Êlumbūr-nādu, *di.*, 133, 134.
 Êlunūruva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *sur. of* Paṭṭālam, 373, 374.
 Êlunūruvaṇ, *sur. of* Arulśarman, 11.
 Êmberumāṇ, *god or king*, 78, 85, 171, 172, 272.
 Êmberumāṇ-Adigaḷ Vilāṅgavandār, *f.*, 85.
 Êṇi Gaṅgādharāṇ, *m.*, 27, 28.
 ennai or ney-enai, *liquid ghee*, 357n, 361, 365n.
 Êṇṇālipporkāl, *measure*, 273.
 Êṇṇāyiram, *vi.*, [20], 233n, 388n.
 eras :

Śaka, [9], [12], 33n, 43, 89, 95, 96, 123, 127, 159n, 179, 181, 204, 207, 282, 448.
 Kali, or Kaliyuga [4], [15], 282, 284.
 Êraṇ Īsvaraṇ Girisēkharāṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Êraṇ Puttagaṇ, *m.*, 230.
 Êraṇ Śattāṇ, *m.*, 28, 29.
 Êrichchā-Udaiyār, *te.*, 448.
 Êrippaṭṭi, 226, 365.
 Êriyūr-nādu, *di.*, 438.
 Êri-vāriyam, *tank committee* 19, 232, 233, 327, 329.
 Êri-vāriya-perumakkāl (perum-Bhaṭṭar), *committee*, 10, 17, 20, 21.
 Êrode (Īrōḍu), *vi.*, 30, 31n.
 Êruvalichchēri, *quarter*, 265, 266, 267, 268, 272, 274, 275.
 Êṭṭi Tīrukkālatti-Udaiyāṇ, *sur. of* Uttaramēlūr Udaiyāṇ, 190.
 Êṭṭukkūr, *vi.*, 7, 95, 96.
 Êyil-nādu, *di.*, 117, 118, 143, 186, 189, 428, 429.
 Êyīnūr, *vi.*, 428, 429.
 Êyīr-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 117, 118, 143, 164, 168, 186, 189, 428, 429.

F

Fa Hian, *Chinese pilgrim*, [6].
 fīsh, *emblem*, 388 n, 443, 460.

G

gadyāṇaka, 257, 258.
 Gahadavāla, *dy.*, [21].
 gaṇa, 233n.
 gaṇa or ālum-gaṇa, *an administrative assembly*, 3, 11n, 251, 253.
 Gaṇapati or Pillaiyār Gaṇapati, *god*, 137, 253, 297, 301, 321, 322, 349, 350, 382, 471.
 Gaṇapuravaṇ, *m.*, 312.
 Gaṇḍanāyaka (sic Gaṇḍanāyaka), 130.
 Gaṇḍappayaṇ, *m.*, 52, 56.
 Gaṇḍarāditta Pallavaraiyaṇ, *sur. of* Parabāmigaṇ Mallāṇ, 227, 228.
 Gaṇḍarāditya or Gaṇḍarādityadēva (Perumāḷ or varman), *Chōḷa k.*, 13, [14], [15], [16], 102, 196, 228, 238, 246, 250, 251, 263, 277, 286, 287, 289, 296, 297, 300, 306, 307, 386, 387, 419.
 Gaṇḍarāditya, *ch.*, 90.
 Gaṇḍarāditya, *Śilāhāra ch.*, 57n.

Gaṇḍar-Dinakaraṇ, *s. a. the Śilāhāra* Gaṇḍarāditya, 57.

Gandharva, 414.

Gaṇeśa, *s. a.* Gaṇapati, 322.

Gaṅga, *family*, [61], [8], 120, 122, 207, 422.

Gaṅga, Eastern, *dy.*, [22], 62n, 106.

Gaṅga, Western, *dy.*, [7], [9], [12], 57n, 64, 68, 88, 89, 90, 99, 100, 104, 107, 185, 386, 444, 446, 449, 461.

Gaṅgā or Gaṅgai, *the Ganges*, [19], [20], [23], 3, 9, 11, 13, 20, 22, 68, 96, 97, 100, 101, 111, 121, 122, 158, 162, 185, 224, 225, 233, 275, 324, 327, 332, 335, 337, 339, 343, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 357, 362, 363, 365, 370, 371, 385, 388, 389, 416, 417, 424, 425, 457, 469.

Gaṅga or Gaṅga-mandala, *co.*, 52, 53, 129, 144, 147, 162, 164n, 167n, 174, 176, 195, 388, 422.

Gaṅga-Bāna, *family*, [10].

Gaṅgādēvimānāli, *land*, 107, 108.

Gaṅgādhara, *m.*, 52, 56.

Gaṅgādhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 88, 113.

Gaṅgādhara-Śiva, *m.*, 253.

Gaṅgādhara Māyilatti, *m.*, 330.

Gaṅgaikonda, *s. a.*, Gaṅgaikonda-chōlapuram, [20].

Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla, *sur. of Rājendra-Chōla I.*, [19], [20], [22] 127, 131, 195, 388n.

Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla (Śōlan), *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 62.

Gaṅgaikonda Chōlēsvara, *te.*, 1.

Gaṅgaikondān, *vi.*, 126.

Gaṅgaikonda-Śōlan, *hall*, 117.

Gaṅgaikonda-Śōlapuram (Chōlapuram), *vi.*, [20], 31, 33, 38, 64, 65, 68n, 70n, 126, 129n, 131, 152, 192, 193, 195, 390n.

Gaṅgākettan, *m.*, 69.

Gaṅgakundapura, *s. a.* Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram, 129, 131.

Gaṅgan, *title*, 55.

Gaṅganēri (or Kaṅganēri)paṭṭu, *vi.*, 391, 434, 435.

Gaṅgapādi, *co.*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 32, 37, 105, 107, 193, 194.

Gaṅga-Pallava, *s. a.* Pallava, 88, 99, 172, 289, 449.

Gaṅga-Permādi, *the Gaṅga k.*, 53.

Gaṅgapurī *s. a.* Gaṅgaikonda-Śōlapuram (or Chōlapuram), [20], 70, 131.

Gaṅgarāja, *the Gaṅga k.*, 446.

gātānaka, *see* gadyānaka.

ghaṭige, *an assembly*, 92n.

Gidāngil, *vi.*, 200, 202.

Gōdāvarī, *ri.*, 65, 70, 388, 425.

Gogunidharma, *sic*, Koṅgunivarma, 98n.

Gōsahasra, 464.

gōshṭhi or kōṭṭi, *an assembly*, 267, 274, 275.

Gōshṭhīsvara, *te.*, 46.

gōtras:—

Atri or Ātraya, 348, 443, 459.

Bharadvāja (Pārādāya), 151, 158, 164, 263, 437.

Gautama, 88.

Hārīta, 151, 317, 322.

Kāśyapa (Kāchchava), 88, 263, 438.

Kausika, Senguti-Kausika or Komara-Kausika, 113, 119, 120, 443, 444, 458, 462.

Mudgalya, 443, 458.

Vādhūla, 87.

Gōvardhana, *vi.*, 330, 332.

Gōvindachandra, *Gaṇḍavāla k.*, [20], 469.

Gōvindapādi or Gōvindavādi, *vi.*, 253, 254, 342, 368, 374, 375.

Gōvindapādi-Ālvār, *god*, 342, 343.

Grāmakāryam-tiruttum-perumakkal, *committee of*, 21.

Grāmam, *vi.*, [9], [13].

Grāmasikhāmaṇi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *sur. of* Maṇimāṅgalam, 49, 86, 87, 88.

Guḍimallam, *vi.*, 465n.

Gujarat, *co.*, [18].

Gūlgānpode, *vi.*, 90, 99.

Guṇabhara, *sur. of Mahēndravarma I.*, [6].

Guṇākara Perumbālli, *Buddhist vihāra*, [22].

Guṇakīrtti-Bhaṭṭāra, *Jaina teacher*, 224, 225.

Guruparamparāprabhāva, *Vaiṣṇava work*, [2], 177n, 186.

H

Haihaya, *family*, 59.

Hālāsya-Purāṇa, *work*, 460n.

Hara, *s. a.* Śiva; 258, 422, 460.

Haracharaṇasēgaran, *sur. of Śāttan Guṇabhaṭṭan* 297.

Hari or Harihaya, *s. a.* Indra, 414, 457, 464.

Hari, *s. a.* Viṣṇu, 218, 272, 419.

havana, *a burnt oblation*, 18.

hēmagarbha, *ceremony*, [13].

Hiranyagarbha, *ceremony*, 464.

hiranyāksha, *demon*, 134.

Himālaya, *mo.*, 70, 424, 442, 443, 460, 464.

Hsien Tsiang, *Chinese traveller*, [1], [4]n, 13n, 197, 386.

hōma, *an oblation*, 189, 202.

Hottūr, *vi.*, [17], 388n.

Hōvya, *see*, Ōvi.

Hoysala, *family*, 31, 122n.

I

Idaikkudi, *vi.*, 438.

Idaimarudu, *s. a.* Tiruviḍaimarudūr, 155.

Idaippāttam or Idaippāṭchi, *tax*, 311, 391.

Idaiturainādu, *s. a.* Eḍedore, 2000, [16], 28, 390, 430, 465, 468.

Idaiyānkādu, *land*, 77.

Idaiyāṇru-nādu, *di.*, 438.

Ida-nāli, *passage between rooms*, 20n.

Idaṅgaināyagar, *s. a.* Rishabbavāhana, 171.

Idaṅgali-Nāyanār, *Chōla k.*, and *Saint*, [3].

Idavai, *vi.*, 448.

Idūr-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 438.

Igaṇaiyūr, *vi.*, 134.

Iggālūr, *vi.*, 106n.

Īkkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 342, 426.

Ikshvāku, *mythical k.*, [4], 384, 413.

Ilaikkūlam, *tax*, 311, 391, 437.

Ilaivallam, *vi.*, 342.

Iḷaiyakō-Kramavittan, *m.*, 190.

Iḷaiyaṅgudi, or Iḷaiyāṅkudi, *vi.*, 117, and *add.*, 206n.

Iḷaiyūru, *vi.*, 118, 139.

ilakkai or ilakkar, 212n.

Îlakkâsu, *coin*, 239, 241, 256, 258, 259.
 Ilakkuvaṇaṇ Pañchanedi Ālumbirāṇ, *m.*, 78.
 Ilakkuvaṇaṇ (Lakshmaṇa) Rāmadēvaṇ, *m.*, 77.
 Îla lamp, 251.
 Îlam or Îlamandalam, *s.a.* Ceylon, [7], [11], [18], 7, 15, 24, 28, 43, 44, 46, 56, 83, 107, 205, 206, 218n, 244, 245, 255, 266, 267, 275, 289, 292, 390, 438, 460, 474, 476, 477, 478.
 Îlamaimaṇ Śiraiyadiḱki, *m.*, 366.
 Îlampūṭchi, *tax*, 311, 391.
 Îlāmuriḱṣam, *co.*, [19], 469.
 Îlanalam, *vi.*, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 318, 319, 322.
 Îlandai, *tree*, 434.
 Îlaṅgai, *s.a.* Laṅkā, 469, 470.
 Îlaṅgāśōkam or Laṅkāśōka, *vi.*, [21], 469.
 Îlaṅgilavar, *m.*, 91.
 Îlaṅgō or Îlaiya-kō, *an heir apparent*, 142.
 Îlaṅgōvadiyaraiaṇ, *k.*, 441n.
 Îlaṅgōvēl, *s.a.* Irukkuvēl, 257.
 Îlava, *a toddy drawer*, 437.
 Îluppai-kalaṇi, *land*, 23, 24.
 Imayavarambaṇ, *Chēra k.*, 385n.
 Indra, *god*, [18], 28, 385, 414, 415, 416, 417, 425, 430, 442, 443, 444, 457, 459, 460, 464, 468.
 Indrāṇi, *shrine of*, 137.
 Indraṇ Paṇanattadiḱal, *m.*, 253.
 Indraratha, *k.*, [19], 388, 424, 469.
 Indravajra, *metre*, 86, 450.
 Ingallūr-nāḱu, *di.*, 106, 107.
 Inga-nāḱu, *di.*, 114, 377, 427, 429.
 Ingaṇūr, *vi.*, 106n.
 Ingaṇūr, *vi.*, 114.
 Innambar, *vi.*, 262.
 Innambar-nāḱu, *di.*, 377.
 irai, *tax*, 253, 327, 332, 333, 334, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 348, 355.
 irai-dravya, 4.
 irai-karatt-ūṭṭu, *revenues and taxes*, 57n.
 iraiḱkāval, *tax*, 241, 248, 256.
 Iraikulaṇ, 245.
 Iraiyāṅkudi, *vi.*, 293, 307.
 Iraiyāṅsēri, *di.*, 293.
 Irāmaguḱam, *co.*, 52, 56.
 Irāṇḱāyirattuvāṇṇūruvaṇ, *sur. of Porrikkuṇi Kālidēvaḱi*, 17.
 irāṇḱēri, *land*, 368.
 Irāśadi Sōlai, *m.*, 244.
 Irāśakkamaṅgalaṇ, *vi.*, 159.
 Irāśāndaṇ, *m.*, 475.
 Irattamaṇḱalam, *see* Raṭṭapādi.
 Irattapādi or Ilattapādi, *see* Raṭṭapādi.
 Irattapāḱikonda-Sōlaṇ, *Chōḱa prince*, 62.
 Irattā, *s.a.* Chalukya, 68.
 Iravi Nīli, *see* Nīli.
 Iravu, 289, 291, 292, 293.
 Irāyirāṇḱēvi-Ammaṇār, *consort of Rājāditya*, 278, 279.
 Irāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ, *ch.*, 14, 29, 30, 109, 111, 427, 428.
 Irāyūr, *vi.*, 64, 73, 74, 81, 85, 177.
 Irāyūrāli-Nambi, *m.*, 151.
 Irēchchayaṇ, *ch.*, 37.
 Irivabedaṅga, *sur. of Satyāśraya*, [17].

Irōḱu, *see* Erode.
 Irugayaṇ, *ch.*, 32, 37.
 Irukkuvēl, *ch.*, 257.
 irumadi or irmaḱi, *explained*, [13]n, 329.
 Irumaḱichchōḱa (sōḱa), *sur. of Parāntaka I.*, [12], 229.
 Irumaḱichchōḱar Kaṇṇāḱaga (Kaṇṇāṭaka), *co.*, 229, 230.
 Irumaḱi Sōlaṇ, *sur. of Gaṅgaikonda-Sōlaṇ*, 62.
 Irumaḱisōḱa Viḱupparaiyaṇ, *sur. of Vēḱḱāṇ Kūṭṭaṇ*, 427, 429.
 Irumuḱisōḱachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Irumuḱisōḱa Mūvēṇḱavēḱḱāṇ, *sur. of Paramēśvaraṇ Araṅgaṇ*, 307.
 Iruṅgōḱakkōṇ, *ch.*, 376.
 Iruṅgōḱa, Iruṅkōḱa, Îlaṅgōvēl or Irukkuvēl, *family*, [15], 257, 258.
 Iruṇṇūraimbadiṇmar Arattūrai, *m.*, 439.
 iruvēli, *plant*, 392, 437.
 Îśa, *s.a.* Śiva, 258.
 Îśakkaṇayya-Naṅgai, *f.*, 242.
 Îśāna, *s.a.* Śiva, 236.
 Îśānamaṅgala, *vi.*, 228, 229.
 Îśāna Māraṇ, *m.*, 263.
 Îśānaśiva-Paṇḱita, *m.*, 1.
 ishtāpūrta, *charitable deed*, 3.
 Islands, *Twelve thousand*, 8.
 Îśvarakkāraṇi Vāmadēvaṇ Tiruveṅkāḱaṇ, *m.*, 227.
 Îśvaraṇ Śiṅgamāpi, *m.*, 202.
 Îśvarī, *shrine of*, 136, 139.
 Îvupi, *vi.*, 71.
 Iyarpā, *portion of Nāḱāyiraprabandham*, 186.

J

Jagatipāḱa, *Ceylon k.*, 53.
 Jain or Jaina, [6], [22], 14, 15, 22, 53, 223, 224, 229, 230, 389.
 Jalaṇāthēśvara, *te.*, 31, 343, 350.
 jalapavitra, *ceremony*, 299, 301, 321.
 jalaṇatra, *a water-lever*, 15n.
 jambu, *tree*, 134n, 168, 171.
 Jambudvīpa, *India*, [11], 134n, 446, 461n.
 Jambukēśvara, *te.*, [3], 122n, 126, 128, 163, 418n.
 Janaka, *sage*, 62n.
 Jananātha or Narāḱkaṇ Mārāyaṇ Jananāthaṇ, *ch.*, 389, 425, 426, 427, 428, 438.
 Jananātha, *Dhāṇā k.*, 33, 37, 69.
 Jananātha-Kachchiyarāyaṇ, *sur. of Araśānārāyaṇaṇ Ēḱisaimōgaṇ*, 210.
 Jananātha-peruvadi, *road*, 111.
 Jananāthappuṭṭēri, *tank*, 432.
 Jananātha-vaḱanāḱu, *di.*, 199, 200.
 Jātāvarmaṇ, *sur. of Śrīvallaḱha*, 465n.
 Jātāvarmaṇ, *sur. of Sundara-Chōḱa-Pāṇḱya*, [17].
 Jāṭila, *m.*, 443, 459.
 Jāṭila or Jāṭilavarmaṇ, *s.a.* Parāntaka Neḱuṇ-jāḱaiyaṇ, 411, 442, 443, 446, 447, 448, 456.
 Jayabhīmatali, *vi.*, 235.
 Jayadhara, *sur. of Kulōṭṭuṅga I.*, 131.
 Jayamēru, *sur. of Vikramāditya I.*, 99, 103.
 Jayamēru-Śrīkaraṇamaṅgalaṇ, *sur. of Maṇḱiram*, 103, 104.
 Jayamurināḱālvār, *ch.*, 59.
 Jayaṅkonda-Chōḱa (Sōḱa), *sur. of Rājāḱhiraḱa I.*, 51, 57.
 Jayaṅkonda-Chōḱa-Brahmāḱhiraḱa, *ch.*, 59, 64, 65, 70.

Jayaṅkonda (or Jayaṅgonda)-Chōla (Śōla)-maṇ-
dalam, *di.*, 2, 8, 16, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 49, 57,
63, 70, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 89,
108, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 134, 136,
137n, 138, 140, 142, 148, 164, 167, 173, 176,
189, 198, 204, 389, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429,
437, 438.
Jayaṅkondasōlanallūr, *vi.*, 38, 39, 41, 43.
Jayaṅkondasōla-Vilupparaiyar, *sur. of* Kāḍan
Vidividaṅgan, 38, 39.
Jayantavarman, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 446, 447, 464.
Jayasimha II., *W. Chālukya k.*, [16], [17], 28,
388, 423, 424, 468.
Jayasimha III., *W. Chālukya k.*, 28, 32, 58, 118,
130, 144, 193, 194, 388, 423, 424, 466.
Jayasimhakuḷakāla-valanāḍu, *di.*, 171.
Jayasimhakuḷāntaka-Brahmamārāyar, *sur. of*
Mañjippavanār, 65, 70.
Jayasimha Virakēralavarman, *Kēraḷa k.*, 206n.
Jayasiṅgan, *s.a.* Jayasimha III., 63.
jayastambha, 69n.
Jayatuṅga Mūvendaṇḍaḷan, *sur. of* Ēraṇ Īsvaraṇ
Giriśekharaṇ, 118.
jīvita, 70.
Jñānaparamēśvara, *te.*, 222.
Jyēsthā, *goddess*, 346, 347.

K

Kachchi, or Kachchippēḍu, *s.a.* Conjeeveram, 11,
12, 96, 97, 186n, 187, 206, 218, 265, 266, 267,
268, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 288, 291, 428,
429.
Kachchiram, or Kaichchiram, *vi.*, 428, 429, 438.
Kāḍādi-kunḍil, *land*, 274.
Kāḍagan, *m.*, 143.
kāḍaikāṭchi, *supervision*, 372.
kāḍai-nīr, *last water*, 288.
kāḍaiyadaikkāy, *tax*, 391.
Kāḍalaṅgudi, *vi.*, 427, 429.
kāḍalar, *son or friend*, 62n.
kāḍali, *wife or daughter*, 56n.
kāḍal sūḷṇḍa, *introductory words of the inscrip-
tions of Rājādhirāja II.*, 206, 207.
kāḍam, = 10 miles, 13, 225, 357, 362, 365.
Kāḍamba, *family*, [6].
Kāḍambamādēvi, *f.*, 221.
Kāḍambankūḷi, *pil.*, 431.
Kāḍambarkōyil, *vi.*, 192.
kāḍambu, *tree*, 430.
Kāḍambūr, 307.
Kāḍan Āchchan, *m.*, 383.
Kāḍan Karuṇākaraṇ, *m.*, 427, 429.
Kāḍan Vidividaṅgan, *m.*, 38.
Kāḍappēri, *vi.*, 79, 126, 174.
Kāḍāram, *s.a.* Kaṭāha, [21], 62n, 194, 195, 203,
465, 469.
Kāḍāram, *vi.*, 194.
Kāḍāraṅkonda-Śōlan, *Chōla prince*, 62.
Kāḍava, *s.a.* Pallava, 68, 185n, 446.
Kāḍavārchohēri (Kāḍavāchchēri), *vi.*, 210, 212,
214, 216.
kāḍi, *grain measure*, 8, 9, 13, 94, 266, 273, 274,
291, 292, 293, 362, 363, 366, 367.
Kāḍichchan, *m.*, 143.
kāḍigai, *an assembly*, 92n.
Kāḍugāl, *village goddess*, 234, 320, 321, 322.
Kāḍuguvār, *field*, 309.

Kāḍuṅgaṇaiyan, *m.*, 362.
Kāḍuṅgōn, *Pāṇḍya k.*, [5], [7]n, 441, 446.
Kāḍupattigal Nandippōttaraiyar, *s.a.* Nandivar-
man Pallavamalla, 260, 261.
Kāḍupattī Tamila-Pērarayan or Viḍēlvidugu
Kāḍupattī Tamila-Pērarayan, *m.*, 92, 93, 94.
Kāḍuttalai, *vi.*, 229, 230.
Kāḍuttalai Nāgamaiyan, *m.*, 251.
Kāḍuvaṅgudi, *vi.*, 4.
Kāḍuvetti, *m.*, 217.
Kaikkōla, *sect*, 276.
Kailāsa, *mo.*, 419, 423.
Kailāsanātha or Kailāsanāthasvāmin, *te.*, [7], 49.
kai-maṇi, *hand-bells*, 273, 319.
kaiṣu, *see*, kāṣu.
Kākkambirāl, *vi.*, 81.
Kakshivat, *mythical k.*, 384, 414.
Kākutstha, *sur. of* Puraṇjaya, 384, 414.
kāl, *a measure*, 342, 363.
Kāla the god of Death, 386, 423.
Kalabhra, *people*, [5], [7]n, 446.
Kālahasti, Kālatti or Tirukkālatti, *vi.*, [9], 33n,
106n, 190n, 208n, 289.
kaḷal, *foot-ornament*, 467.
kāl-aḷavu-kūḷi, *toll*, 162, 266, 268, 272, 273.
kālam, *a trumpet*, 319.
kalam, *grain measure*, 8, 38, 117, 118, 136,
137n, 139, 162, 171, 186, 189, 190, 229, 241,
286, 301, 306, 307, 308, 311, 312, 317, 318,
319, 320, 321, 379, 381, 390, 427, 428, 445,
470, 471, 472.
Kālaṇ, *m.*, 295.
kaḷaṇi-vāriya (or vāriya), *field supervision commit-
tee*, 231, 232, 327, 329.
Kālaṇivāyil, *vi.*, 6, 293.
kaḷaṇṇu, *gold and silver weight*, (= 80 grains), 2,
3, 11, 12, 18, 22, 29, 30, 38, 45, 46, 51, 87, 88,
94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 111, 113, 114,
143, 163, 164, 177, 189, 226n, 227, 228, 229,
230, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 245,
250, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 273,
274, 275, 278, 279, 287, 291, 292, 293, 295,
297, 300, 311, 312, 324, 327, 334, 342, 344,
346, 348, 349, 352, 354, 356, 357, 358, 362,
363, 366, 367, 370, 371, 373, 374, 390, 427,
428, 474, 475, 476, 477.
Kalappālarājar (or rāyan), *m.*, 213, 217.
Kālarikurichchi, *vi.*, 286.
Kālaru, 480.
Kālaruṅgali, *land*, 77.
kalāsa, *a pot*, 189.
Kālatti, *see* Kālahasti.
Kālāttirukkai, *vi.*, 462.
Kālāttūr, *vi.*, 143.
Kālāttūr-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 143, 148, 167, 173, 176,
204.
Kālāttūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 143, 148, 167.
Kalavai, *vi.*, 118, 119.
Kalavali, *Tamil poem*, [2], 386.
Kalavali-nāḍu, *di.*, 444, 450, 462.
Kālaya-Sōmāsi-bhūmi, *land*, 330.
Kālayavana, *demon*, 385, 415.
Kalēsi, *vi.*, 251.
Kali, *age*, [4], [15], 36, 55, 61, 81, 142, 146, 176,
184, 188, 191, 198, 200, 201, 203, 218, 386,
418, 419, 420, 421, 423, 425, 446, 464.
Kālī, Pachchaikkālī or Pavalakkālī, *goddess*, 418n.
Kālī Ēkāmbaram, *m.*, 438.

Kalichchaṅgāl, *channel*, 51.
 Kaligai-Viṭaṅka, image of, 366, 367.
 Kalikēsari - chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ, *sur. of Tirumullaivāyil*, 351.
 Kāli Naṅgai, *f.*, 352.
 Kalinga (Kaliṅga) or Kalinga-maṇḍalaṁ, *co.*, [2], [3], [20], 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 59, 63, 65, 70, 105, 107, 126n, 130, 156, 158, 179, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188, 193, 388, 422, 461.
 Kalinganagara, *s.a.* Mukhalingaṁ, [22], 128, 130.
 Kalingarāyar, *sur. of Arayan Garudavāhaṇ*, 148, 151.
 Kalingas, the Seven, 180n.
 Kalingattupparani, *Tamil poem*, [3], 32, 52, 113, 125, 127, 128n, 129, 130, 131, 132, 144n, 152, 156, 178, 180, 181, 191, 413n, 415n, 416n, 417n, 418n.
 Kalingu-vāriyam, *committee*, 327, 329.
 Kalippagai, *sur. of Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaiyan*, 446.
 Kāliya-Bhaṭṭar, *m.*, 368.
 Kāliyaṇēri, *sur. of Ūrudaiyāṅkulam*, 239, 241.
 Kāliyūr-kōttam, *di.*, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 137n, 138, 142, 323, 324, 325, 327, 332, 334, 335, 338, 340, 341, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 355, 359, 361, 369, 372.
 Kāliyūr-nādu, *di.*, 142.
 Kallāṇ, *trite*, 268.
 Kallī Kuṭṭēraṇ, *m.*, 28.
 Kallōḍaṇai, *dam*, 477, 480.
 kallūri, *a college*, 15.
 Kalpa or Kalpaka, *tree*, 185, 233n, 456, 464.
 Kalpa, *age*, 446, 456.
 Kalpa, *work*, 458.
 Kaḷugumalai, *vi.*, 448.
 Kaḷukkunṇam, *see* Tirukkaḷukkunṇam.
 Kaḷumalam, *vi.*, [2], 386.
 Kaḷumbarudaiyār, *m.*, 17.
 kaḷuval, *field*, 226, 365.
 Kaḷvar - Kaḷvaṇ, *sur. of Perumbidugu Mutta-raiyan I.*, [7].
 Kalyāṇa, *vi.*, 130.
 Kalyāṇapuram, *vi.*, 191.
 Kalyāṇasundara, *god*, 89, 118.
 Kāma, *Cupid*, 161n, 218n, 419.
 Kāmadamaṅgalaṁ, *vi.*, 438.
 Kāmakavvaiyal, *f.*, 59, 64.
 Kāmakkoḍi, *vi.*, 318, 319.
 Kāmakkoḍi-Vinnagar, *s.a.* Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, 49, 57, 63, 70.
 Kamalāvati, *queen of Śubhadēva*, 386.
 Kāmāmōga-Vāranappēraraiyan, *sur. of Maṇṇaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ*, 374, 375.
 Kāmaniyakkāṇār, *f.*, 242.
 Kambulānpādi *quarter of* Conjeeveram, 266, 267, 273, 274.
 Kampa, *Vijayanagara k.*, 8.
 Kampavarman or Vijaya-Kampavikramavarman, *Gaṅga-Pallava k.*, 1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 90, 172, 266, 267, 273.
 Kampli or Kampili, *vi.*, 52, 53, 57, 193, 194, 195, 201.
 Kamsahappāti, *s.a.* Kaṇṇagappādi, 265, 267, 272.
 Kamuduvan Nīlanārāyaṇaṁ, *m.*, 281.
 Kamugadi, *field*, 122.
 Kanaikkāl Irumporai, *Ohēra k.*, [2].

Kanakavīrakurattiyār, *f.*, 224, 225.
 kaṇakku or kaṇakkar, *office*, 289, 444.
 Kaṇakku-vāriyam, *Committee*, 327, 329.
 kāṇam, *gold coin*, 13, 20, 189, 239, 253, 262.
 kāṇam, *share*, 51, 92.
 Kanauj, *co.*, [20], 53, 194.
 Kaṇavadi, *m.*, 330n.
 Kaṇavadi (Gaṇapati), *k.*, 57.
 Kaṇavadinallūr, *vi.*, 31, 39, 41, 477, 479.
 Kaṇavadi Pichchan, *m.*, 118.
 Kāñchi or Kāñchīpura, *s.a.* Conjeeveram, [4], [7], [12], [22], 2n, 11, 71, 96, 114, 117, 118, 122, 123, 129, 130, 131, 141, 143, 159, 162, 163, 164, 193n, 272n, 347, 348, 349, 359, 360, 386, 388, 392, 418, 423, 439.
 Kāñchivāyil, *vi.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Kāñchivāyppērūr, *s.a.* Pērūr, 446.
 Kāndai (Karandai?), *vi.*, 64, 69.
 Kāndāḍai Ponnaiyakramavitta Sōmāsīyār Ambalattadigal, *m.*, 348.
 Kāndāḍai Tiruveṇkādabhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 427, 428.
 Kāndaḷēri, *sur.*, of Śūlai-kulam, 477, 479, 480.
 Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, *see* Śālai.
 kaṇḍam, *a division*, 257, 260, 297.
 Kāndāna-nādu, *di.*, 428, 429, 438.
 Kāndaṇṇaṇindāṇ, *m.*, 117.
 Kāndaṇ Maṇavaṇ, *m.*, 30.
 Kaṇḍapurattupēṭṭai, *vi.*, 326, 327, 332, 336, 337, 339.
 Kaṇḍarādittam, *vi.*, 387n.
 Kaṇḍiyūr, or Tirukkaṇḍiyūr, *vi.*, [12], 261, 282, 466.
 Kaṇḍaṇēri, *tank*, 435.
 Kaṇḍaṇērippaṭṭu, *see* Gaṇḍaṇērippaṭṭu.
 kāṇi, *land*, 88, 176, 291, 292, 293.
 kāṇi, *land measure*, 234, 257, 260, 281, 300, 355, 368.
 kaṇimurrūṭṭu, 289, 291, 389, 427.
 Kaṇṇagappādi, *quarter of* Conjeeveram, 266, 267, 274, 275.
 Kāṇṇaṇ Koṇḍayaṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Kāṇṇaṇūr, *vi.*, 284.
 kaṇḍaṇivariṇipottagaṁ, *office*, 312.
 kaṇmāḷar, *artisans*, 46, 47.
 kaṇmi, 28, 136, 138, 151, 286.
 Kāṇṇāḍaga-Paṇḍita, *m.*, 138.
 Kāṇṇāḍa, *people*, 185.
 kaṇṇāḍu or kaṇṇāḍu, *a hero-stone*, 477, 478, 479.
 Kāṇṇagidarapāni Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, *sur. of Kūṭṭaṇ Sōmadēvaṇ*, 158.
 Kāṇṇakkāl, *channel*, 108.
 Kāṇṇakuchchi, *s.a.* Kanyakubja, [20], 56, 202.
 kaṇṇālakkāṇam, *tax*, 311, 391.
 Kāṇṇaṇ Ārūraṇ, *m.*, 6, 8.
 Kāṇṇandai Kuppaṇ, *m.*, 85.
 Kāṇṇappaṇ Pañchanedi Nīlagaṅgaraiyar, *m.*, 84.
 Kāṇṇappaṇ Tūsi Ādināyaṇaṇ Nīlagaṅgaraiyaṇ Vāṇṇiyanāyaṇ, *see*, Vāṇṇiyanāyaṇ.
 Kāṇṇapushpaṁ, 475.
 Kāṇṇara, *co.*, 195, 203.
 Kāṇṇaradēva or Kāṇṇaradēva, *s.a.* Kṛishṇa III., [12], 11, 12, 21n, 56.
 kaṇṇāru or kaṇṇāru, 73, 75, 78, 81, 83, 154, 155, 177, 212, 213, 216, 249, 280, 281, 324, 325, 326, 327, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350,

Kanni, *s. a.* Comorin, 68n, 147.
 Kanniya, *s. a.* Pāṇḍya, 68.
 Kannikkāl, *channel*, 88.
 Kanperrāṇ, *m.*, 472.
 Kanperrāṇ Maṇṇunirāindār, *m.*, 473.
 kanthikā, *a necklace*, 65, 69.
 Kanyā, Kanyākumārī or Kumari, *s. a.* Comorin, [4], [7], [8], [10], [12], [18], [20], [21], 22, 111, 466.
 Kanyakubja, *s. a.* Kanauj, 52, 53, 56, 59, 194, 202.
 kār, 171.
 Karabhadra, *elephant*, 63.
 karadigai, *a musical instrument*, 273, 285, 319.
 Karadikal, or Karadikallu, *vi.*, 194, 201.
 Kārai, *vi.*, 95.
 karai, *land*, 64.
 kārai, *ornament*, 476, 477.
 Kārai, *tree*, 434.
 Kāraikkāṭṭu Paṇaiyūr, 300, 311.
 Kāraikkāl-Ammal or Ammai, *Śaiva devotee*, 384.
 Kārai-nādu, *di.*, 89, 95, 96, 104.
 Kāraippākkam, *vi.*, 391, 433.
 Kāraitturai, 31, 48.
 Karaivali, *di.*, 89, 105, 108, 113, 114, 119, 120.
 Karaivali-Āndi-nādu, *di.*, 89.
 Kārāmbichchēṭṭu, (Kārāmbisēṭṭu), *vi.*, 64, 73, 83, 168.
 *Kārānai-Vidaṅgadēva, *image of*, 134.
 karaṇattāṇ, *an accountant*, 2, 22, 24, 392, 437, 438.
 Karandai, *see* Kāndai.
 Karānikas, 277.
 kārānmai, 307, 308, 311, 459, 462.
 Karavandapuram, *vi.*, 446.
 Karavūr, *vi.*, 438.
 karāy, 250.
 Kārāyil Eḍuttapādam, *ch.*, 14.
 Karhād, *vi.*, 22.
 Kāri, *m.*, 151n.
 Karikal, *vi.*, 45n.
 Karikāla, or Kalikāla *Chōla k.*, [2], [3], [4], [5], [7], 62n, 268, 274, 386, 418.
 Karikāla, *sur. of* Āditya II., [9], [14], [15], [16], 21, 249, 262, 263, 278, 279, 289, 356, 375, 377, 379, 387.
 Karikāla-Chōla, *sur. of* Kulōttunga I., 130.
 Karikāla-Chōla (Śōla), *sur. of* Vīrarājendra, 195, 199.
 Karikāla-Chōla-Āḍaiyūrnād-Ālvāṇ, *sur. of* Malayāṇ Vinaiyaivenṇāṇ, 208.
 Karikāla karai, *embankment*, 249, 250.
 Karikāla-Śōlaṇ, *sur. of* Vīra-Chōla (Śōlaṇ), 62.
 Karikāla-terri, *hall*, [5], 266, 268, 274.
 Karikkal, *vi.*, 45n.
 Kāri Kolambāṇ, *m.*, 276.
 Kārikudi, *vi.*, 438.
 Kārimaṅgalam-Uḍaiyāṇ, *m.*, 232.
 karinī(karaṇi)bhramaṇa, 389, 390, 426.
 Karisaṅgāl, *vi.*, 51n.
 Karukudi or Tirukkarukudi, *s. a.* Uyyakkandāṇ Tirumalai, 230, 231, 375, 376.
 Karukulam, *vi.*, 462.
 Karukūḷi, *pit*, 432.
 Karṇaprāṇṇitas, *s. a.* Tollaikkādar, 268.
 Karṇātaka, *co.*, 229.
 Kārōhana, *vi.*, 27.
 Karpūndi-nādu, *di.*, 228.
 Karṇali, *see* Nārāyaṇan Karṇali.

Karṇali-ēri, *tank*, 477, 479.
 Karugai, *vi.*, 151n.
 Karugāvūr or Tirukkarugāvūr, *s. a.* Tirukkalāvūr, 233, 234, 235, 245, 259, 260.
 Karumāligai, *palace*, 428.
 Karumam-ārāyūm, *councillors*, 301, 307, 390, 427.
 Karumān, *a blacksmith*, 106.
 Karumānikkadēva, *god*, 89, 118.
 Karumānikkaṇ Śārpaṇ, *m.*, 428, 429.
 Karumānikkaṇ Sōmaṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Karuṇākara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 81.
 Karuṇātakan, *title of* Śāḍaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra, 446.
 Karuṅgāli, *tank*, 104.
 karuvēl, *tree*, 432.
 Karuvulānpāṭi, *s. a.* Kambulānpāḍi, 265, 267, 272.
 Karuvūr, *vi.*, 30, 31, 33, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 64, 192, 193, 205, 473, 474, 475.
 Karuvūr, *s. a.* Tiruvaṇjaikkalam, 31.
 Kāsākudi, *vi.*, 391.
 kāshtakāra, *a carpenter*, 321n.
 Kāsirāja, *mythical k.*, 385, 415.
 Kassapa V., *Ceylon k.*, [11], 231.
 kāsū or kaiśū, *weight*, 189.
 kāsū, *coin or money*, 53, 57, 84, 85, 109, 111, 114, 117, 132, 134, 136, 139, 148, 151, 152, 155, 162, 164, 167, 171, 201n, 222, 223, 239n, 241, 248, 259, 260, 284, 300, 322, 476, 477.
 kāsū-kal, *goldweight*, 46.
 Kāśyapa, *sage*, 413n.
 Kāśyapaṇ Kārāyil Midaichchaṇ, *m.*, 471.
 Kaṭāha, *co.*, [21], 388, 425.
 kāttagara, *a wooden house*, 321.
 Kattēmanuganahalli, *vi.*, 130.
 Kaṭṭināgaṅkūval-ittēr, *bye-path*, 477, 479.
 Katti Orriūraṇ, *sur. of* Tennavaṇ Pirudimārāsaṇ, 249, 250.
 Kāṭṭugai Nārāyaṇa-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 177.
 Kāṭṭukkumunḍūr, *vi.*, 391, 432.
 Kāṭṭukkuri, *vi.*, 113.
 Kāṭṭūr, *vi.*, 364, 365.
 Kaustubha, *gem*, 460.
 Kauisikaṇ Venkādabhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 471.
 Kausikaṇ Ādittaṇ Āḍavallāṇ, *m.*, 471.
 Kausalar, *people of* Kōsala 57.
 Kāvāḍippākkam, *s. a.* Kāvērippākkam, 232.
 Kāvāntaṇḍalam, *vi.*, 125, 128, 172.
 Kāvaṇūr, *vi.*, 346, 347.
 Kāvaṇūr-ēri, *tank*, 360.
 Kavarāmoli, *measure*, 367.
 Kavērakaryakā, *s. a.*, Kāvērī, 385, 417.
 Kāvērī, *vi.*, [2], [3], [4], [8], 4, 6, 8, 30, 45, 129, 132, 140, 42, 155n, 171, 182n, 197, 223, 231, 233, 234, 242, 247n, 248, 256, 257, 258, 259, 262, 276, 278, 280, 301, 320, 376, 385, 386, 387, 417, 418, 425n, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 Kāvērīmaṅgala, *vi.*, 330n.
 Kāvērippākkam or Kāvīrippākkam, *vi.*, 95, 96, 327, 329.
 Kaviṇiyaṇ Puṇambiyaṇ, *m.*, 284.
 Kavira-nādu, *vi.*, 286.
 Kāviri, *s. a.* Kāvērī, 446.
 Kāvīrippūmpattinam, *vi.*, [2], [3].
 kāy, *areca-nut*, 233.
 Kayakkāl, *channel*, 111.
 Kayarpākkam, *vi.*, 391, 435, 436.
 kāykkari, 382.
 Kayilāyadēvaṇ, *flower-garden of*, 215.

Kāyvantandālam, *s. a.* Kāvāntandālam, 172, 173.
 Kēkaya, *co.*, 415n.
 Kēlalar, *explained*, 172n.
 Kērala, *co.*, [12], [13], [17], [19], 28, 33, 37, 64, 68, 128, 193, 235, 388, 390, 423, 430, 442, 446, 457, 468.
 Kēralaṇ, *m.*, 44.
 Kēralānataka-chatuṣṣādimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Kēralāntaka-Pallavarayaṇ, *ch.*, 162.
 Kēralāntaka-vaṇanādu, *di.*, 31.
 Kēralapalli, *vi.*, 31, 43, 44.
 Kēralaputta, *s. a.* Chēra, [1].
 Kēralarājaṇ, *sur. of* Tiruvēgambamudaiyaṇ-Tiruvāntiśvaram-udaiyaṇ, 210, 212, 213.
 Kēsava-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 74, 83.
 Kēsavadāṇḍanāyaka, *s. a.* Kēsavādityadēva, 32, 37.
 Kēsavādityadēva, *ch.*, 33.
 Kēsavaṇ, *m.*, 284.
 Kēsavaṇ-Pērāyiramudaiyaṇ, *m.*, 76.
 Kēsavaṇ Rāmaṇ, *m.*, 254.
 Kēsi, *ch.*, 69.
 Kēsuvaiyaṇ, *m.*, 350.
 Kēsuvāṇ (Kēsava) Aṇivariyaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Kēsuvāṇ (Kēsava) Tani-Ilaṇṇiṅgam, *m.*, 151.
 Kēsuvapattāṇ (Kēsava-Bhaṭṭa), *m.*, 73.
 Kēttaraśaṇ, *ch.*, 37.
 Kēvudaṇ, *ch.*, 52, 56.
 Kharagiri, *vi.*, 443, 444, 446, 450, 457, 461.
 kīl, = $\frac{1}{2}$ (or $\frac{1}{3}$), etc., 213n.
 Kīlāḍakuvilai, *land*, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 321.
 Kīlai-ēri, *tank*, 365.
 Kīlai-vēlam, *quarter*, 378.
 Kīlaiyūr, *vi.*, 199n.
 Kīlānadigal or Kōkkīlānadigal, *Chōla queen*, [12].
 Kīlappaluvūr, Paluvūr, or Śirupaluvūr, *vi.*, 125, 152, 154, 155, 164n.
 Kīlār-kūṛram, *di.*, 450.
 kīlavaṇ, *a headman*, 291, 293, 308.
 Kīlēripattū, *land*, 287.
 kīlīrai, *tax*, 253.
 Kīl-Iraṇiyamuttam, *di.*, 241.
 Kīliyūr-nādu, *co.*, 285.
 Kīl-Karriyūr-nādu, *di.*, 426.
 Kīlivalavaṇ, *Chōla k.*, [3], [4]n.
 Kīlmalai, *vi.*, 254.
 Kīlmāndūr Paruvūr, *sur. of* Tappildaram Pallavaraiyaṇ, 246, 247, 248.
 Kīl-Māṅgāttu-nādu, *di.*, 83.
 kīlmugavetti, *office*, 390, 428, 429, 438.
 Kīl-Muttugūr, *vi.*, [6], 90.
 Kīlūr, *s. a.* Kīlaiyūr, 193, 199.
 kīvali, 224n, 225, 226.
 Kīlvēmba-nādu, *di.*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Kīl-Vēṅgai-nādu, *di.*, 212.
 Kīraikkallūr, *vi.*, 307.
 Kīrainallūr, *vi.*, 287, 391, 432.
 Kīraippākkam (Kīrappākkam), *vi.*, 165, 167.
 Kīrāṇji, *vi.*, 163.
 Kīrttimaraiikkāḍaṇ, *m.*, 378, 379.
 Kīrttimārttāṇḍa-Brahmadhirājar, *sur. of* Vikramādittan, 104.

Kittisirimēgha, *Ceylon k.*, 59.
 Kōchchakkārpuraṇ, *vi.*, 39.
 Kōchcheṇṇaṇṇaṇ, *Chōla k.*, [2], [3], [4], 386, 418.
 Kōchcheṇṇaṇḍōla-Nāyaṇār, *s. a.* Kōchcheṇṇaṇṇaṇ, 386.
 Kōḍachcheṇṇu, *field*, 114.
 Kōḍaṇḍa or Kōḍandarāma, *sur. of* Rājāditya, [8], [13], [16], 234, 237, 238, 248.
 Kōḍandarāma, *sur. of* Āditya I., [8], 238.
 Kōḍandarāma-vadi, *road*, 248, 249, 279, 280.
 Kōḍandarāmēśvara, *te.*, [9], 237, 238.
 Kōḍimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 212n.
 Kōḍukulavaṇ Śāttāṇ, *m.*, 292, 307, 312.
 Kōḍumāḍi, *field*, 226.
 Kōḍumbai, *s. a.* Kōḍumbālūr, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 Kōḍumbālūr, *vi.*, [14], 230, 231, 249, 255, 256, 257, 285, 446, 449, 450, 476.
 Kōḍumuḍi, Pāṇḍikkōḍumuḍi or Tiruppāṇḍikkōḍumuḍi, *vi.*, 31.
 Kōḍuṅgai, *vi.*, 308.
 Koetei, *vi.*, [7].
 Kōkkāṇḍaṇ, *title*, 221n, 222, 235.
 kokkuvāy, *hook of an ornament*, 475.
 Kokuni, *sur. of* Śivamahārāja-Perumānadigal, 98.
 Kōlār, *vi.*, 99, 122, 125, 128, 132, 136, 138n.
 Kōlāramma, *te.*, 136.
 Kolattūr, *vi.*, 50.
 Kōla-vadi, *path*, 347.
 kolgai, *ornament*, 297.
 Kōli, *s. a.* Uṇaiyūr, 62, 446.
 Kollam (Quilon), *vi.*, 7, 11, 15, 24, 105, 107.
 Kollāpuram, *vi.*, 111, 112, 191.
 Kollimalavaṇ, *sur. of* Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundarāśōlaṇ, 476, 477, 479, 480.
 Kollippākkai or Kollipāke, *s. a.* Kulpak, [16], 28, 52, 56, 390, 430, 468.
 kōlniṇai, *tax*, 266, 268, 272, 273.
 Kolukkuttu, 108.
 kolundi, *wife's younger sister*, 473.
 Kōlūr, *vi.*, 118.
 Kōluvūr-kūṛram, *di.*, 444, 450, 462.
 kombirkolgai, *jewel*, 297.
 Kōmulāṇ Araiyaṇ Baladēvaṇ, *m.*, 16.
 kōṇ, *a chief*, 163.
 Kondala, *see* Kuntala.
 Kōṇḍyāta, *vi.*, 165.
 Kōṇērimaikondāṇ, Kōṇēрмаikondāṇ, Kōṇērimaikondāṇ, Kōṇēri(Kōṇiri)jēmkondāṇ, Kōṇērimēṇkondāṇ, Kōṇēri-inmai-kondāṇ or Kōṇḍṇaṇmaikondāṇ, *title*, 44, 46, 47, 48, 122, 199, 426, 427.
 Kōṇērimēlkondāṇ, *sur. of* Vīra-Chōla, 122n.
 Kōṇērimēṇkondāṇ, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III., 122n, 205, 208.
 Kōṇērināṅgai, *goddess*, 349, 350.
 Kōṇērirājapuram, *vi.*, 296.
 Kōṇēriyār, *m.*, 274.
 Kōṅgaṇa or Kōṅkana, *co.*, 57, 129, 162, 185.
 Kōṅgaraiyar, *m.*, 370, 371, 372.
 Kōṅgarkōṇ, *sur. of* Parāntaka Nedunjadaiyaṇ, 446.
 Kōṅgu, Kōṅgu-dēsa or Kōṅgu (or Kōṅga)-maṇḍalam, *co.*, [8], [9], 31, 44, 47, 185, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 Kōṅgudēsarājakkal, *work*, [9n].
 Kōṅguṇi or Kōṅguṇivarman, *title of* W. Gaṅga kings, 98n, 99, 100, 101, 105, 108.

Koṅkaṇa, *see* Koṅgaṇa.
 Kōṇḍi-inmaikōṇḍāṇ, *sur. of* Uttama-Chōḷa, 288, 289, 291.
 Kōṇḍi-inmai-kōṇḍāṇ, kuṣālī, 291n.
 Kōṇṇūr, *vi.*, 358.
 Kōṇūr, *vi.*, 307, 428, 429, 438.
 Kōṇ-Vēḷāṇ, *m.*, 443, 459, 462.
 Koppākēsari, *sic.* Kō-Parakēsari, 33n.
 Koppam, *vi.*, 32, 39, 40, 41, 53, 58, 63, 68n, 111, 112, 197.
 Kōraikkūḷi, 288.
 Kōrañji, *vi.*, 70.
 Kōṟamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 159.
 Kōṟaṇ Aruṇmoli, *m.*, 263, 264.
 Kōṟaṅgudi, *vi.*, 245, 308, 309, 310.
 Kōṟaṅgudi-vāykkāl, *channel*, 319.
 Kōṟaṇputtūr, *vi.*, 445, 450, 465.
 kōṟru or kottu, *maintenance*, 212n, 306, 379.
 Kōsala, Kōsalaḷ or Kōsalaḷ-nāḍu *co.*, [19], 37, 57, 469.
 Kōṭpūr, *vi.*, 308.
 kōṭṭagam or gōshthaka, *a cow-pen*, 436n.
 Kōṭṭaiyūr, *vi.*, 438.
 kōṭṭam, *a division*, 3, 96, 292, 357, 374.
 kōṭṭa-nāl, *the day of gift*, 232.
 Kōṭṭāṟu, *vi.*, 130, 144, 147, 159, 162.
 Kōṭṭāṟpolil or Kōṭṭāṟpolil, 450, 462.
 kōṭṭi, *see* gōshthi.
 Kōṭṭūr, *vi.*, 253.
 Kōṭṭūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 251.
 Kōval or Kōvalūr, *s.a.* Tirukoilur, 209n.
 Kōvilāḍi, *vi.*, 179.
 Kōvil (or Kōvil)-vāriyam, *committee of*, 301, 320.
 kōvil, *temple or palace*, 272n.
 kōvil, *a monastery*?, 225.
 Kōvilāṇpatti, *field*, 288.
 Kōvil Mayilal, *m.*, 307.
 kōvil-nambu, *temple worship*, 269.
 Kōvinallūr, *vi.*, 239.
 Krishna, *god*, 49, 84n, 151n, 164n, 190n, 278, 279, 324, 336, 439.
 Krishna (Kannaraṇ), *m.*, 53, 56, 439.
 Krishnā, *vi.*, [17], 32, 65, 466.
 Krishna II. or Krishnarāja, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 92.
 Krishna III. or Krishnarāja, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, [12], 1, 11, 22, 278, 386, 419.
 Krishṇa Rājādittan, *m.*, 293.
 Krishṇa Rāman, *ch.*, 14, 427, 428.
 Krishnarāya, *Vijayanagara k.*, 106, 418n.
 Krishṇasvāmin, *te.*, 49.
 Krita, *age*, 385, 415.
 Kritahārōhanam (Kritikārōhanam), *ceremony*, 189.
 Kriyākramadyōtikā, *work*, 382.
 Kaṣatra or Kaṣatriya, *race*, [1], 269n, 422.
 Kaṣatriyasikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, *di.*, 38, 39, 41, 43, 117, 428, 429, 438.
 Kshētrapālādēva, *shrine of*, 137.
 Kubēra or Kuvēra, *god*, 28, 386, 418, 419, 423.
 Kūdal, *s. a.* Madura, 206, 209n, 215, 446.
 Kūdal or Kūdalūr, *s. a.* Cuddalore, 209, 210.
 Kūdal, *s. a.* Kūdalāṅgamam, 64, 69, 209n.
 Kūdalī, *vi.*, 32.
 Kūdalāṅgamam, *vi.*, 32, 37, 64, 68n, 190, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201, 209n.
 kūdam, *a hall*, 367.
 Kūdamalai-nāḍu, *di.*, 7, 11, 15, 24, 29, 30, 105, 107, 130, 144, 147.

Kudamūkkil, *s.a.* Kumbhakōṇam, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 kuḍimai, *right*, 226, 322.
 Kudikāval, *a warden*, 443, 459.
 Kudikāvalnāyakan, *the chief revenue officer*, 444, 462.
 kuḍiṇai (or kuḍinar)-kal, *stone-weight*, 143, 164, 473, 474.
 kuḍinikki, *freeing from tenancy rights*, 381.
 Kuditāṅgi Aravanaiyāṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Kuḍiyaṇ Kāḍugāl, *f.*, 234.
 kuḍubaka, *measure*, 265, 272.
 Kuḍumbiḍupāḍagam, *vi.*, 51.
 kuḍumbuvāriga - Perumakkal, *wards committee*, 231, 232.
 Kuḍumiyāmalai, *vi.*, 234.
 kuḍuppōlai, *a deed of gift*, 12n.
 Kukkaṇūr, *vi.*, 25, 26, 114, 117.
 Kulam or Kolanu, *s. a.* Ellore, 172n, 180, 182, 184.
 kūlam, *s.a.* ilaikūlam, 391.
 Kūlambandal, *vi.*, 1.
 Kulamulāṇ, or Kōmulāṇ, 118.
 Kulapūr, *s. a.* Kolanu, 172.
 Kūlapāḍi, *vi.*, 391, 430, 436.
 Kulasēkhara, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 206, 465n.
 Kulasēkhara, *Vaiṣṇava Saint*, 2n, 148, 186.
 Kulattūr, *s.a.* Kolattur, 50, 51, 75.
 Kulavampandal, *land*, 277.
 Kulavilāgam, *land*, 319.
 kūli, *market fee*, 223.
 kūḷi, *land measure*, 4, 5, 6, 12, 15, 17, 23, 24, 29, 30, 50, 51, 53, 57, 58, 65, 70, 71, 73, 75, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 97, 101, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 111, 113, 143, 288, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 355, 357, 358, 360, 365n, 368, 369, 370, 371, 375.
 Kūlivāniyaṇ-ēri, *tank*, 435.
 Kulōttuṅga I., Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa (Chōḷadēva or Śōḷadēva) or Kulōttuṅgadēva, *Chōḷa k.*, [3], [19], [20], [21], 2n, 32, 33, 43, 49, 71, 72, 74, 76n, 89, 113, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 123n, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 140, 142, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 167, 168, 171, 174, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 185n, 187, 190, 191, 192, 196, 197, 466, 470, 471, 472, 473.
 Kulōttuṅga II or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa (Śōḷa, Chōḷadēva, Śōḷadēva or Chōḷa), *Chōḷa k.*, 43, 49, 77, 78, 79, 125, 179, 180, 181, 196.
 Kulōttuṅga III or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa (Chōḷadēva or Śōḷadēva), *Chōḷa k.*, 30, 31, 33n, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 79, 82, 83, 84, 85, 89, 121, 122, 123, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 212, 214, 215, 217, 219, 337, 465n, 473, 474, 475.
 Kulōttuṅgśōḷa-Brahmārāyaṇ, *sur. of* Uttama-Śōḷaṇ, 43.
 Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Kēralārājaṇ, *sur. of* Araiyaṇ Madurāntakaṇ, 162.
 Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Māpōdiyarāyaṇ, *sur. of* Dēvan-daināḍaṇ Arulāḷaṇ, 168.
 Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Nānjināḍ-Uḍaiyaṇ, *sur. of* Rājarājaṇ, 163.
 Kulōttuṅgśōḷa-Kalattūr, *vi.*, 205n.

Kulōttuṅga-Śōlaṅ-Periyarayan, *sur. of Śelvan Paḷumaḍaiyan*, 148.
 Kulōttuṅgasōlaṅ-Ulā, *Tamil poem*, 180, 181.
 Kulōttuṅgasōla (or Chōla)-vaḷanāḍu, *sur. of Puliyūr-kōttam*, 49, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 85, 86, 88.
 Kulōttuṅgasōla-Viraināṭṭu-Mūvēndavēlaṅ, *sur. of Namban Madurāntakadēvaṅ*, 158.
 Kulpak, *vi.*, 390.
 Kuḷumbūr, *vi.*, 446, 448.
 Kulūta, *co.*, 20, 388n.
 Kumān, *see* Nakkankumān.
 Kumānpādi, *vi.*, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350.
 Kumāra, *s. a.* Skanda, 461.
 kumaraḍi-Naṅgai, *f.*, 361, 367.
 kumarakachchānam or kumara-gadyāṇaka, *tax*, 117, 162.
 Kumāra-Kramavittan, *m.*, 247.
 Kumaramārtāṇḍan, *lamp*, 260, 261.
 Kumaramārtāṇḍan, *sur. of* Nandippōttaraiyar, 223, 260n.
 Kumaramārtāṇḍapuram, *vi.*, 223, 224.
 Kumaraṇṇuḷi, *tree*, 435.
 Kumaraṇ, *m.*, 350.
 Kumaraṇ Śōlappēraiyan, *m.*, 280.
 Kumāra-Peruvāṇiyan Dēvaṅ Eṇṇōdi, *m.*, 142.
 Kumāravishnu II., *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Kumari, *s. a.* Omorin, 3, 9, 11, 13, 20, 96, 97, 100, 101, 121, 122, 225, 275, 327, 332, 335, 337, 339, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 357, 362, 363, 365, 370, 371.
 Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa, *teacher*, [1], 376.
 Kumbakōṇam, *vi.*, 215n, 233, 276, 282, 283, 382, 449, 450.
 kumbha, *a pot*, 189.
 kumbhābhishēka, *ceremony*, 90.
 Kumbhōdbhava, *s. a.* Agastya, 464.
 Kumili, *vi.*, 165.
 Kumili-nāḍu, *di.*, 165, 167.
 kummāyam, 317.
 Kuṇamadaṇ Achechan, *m.*, 438.
 Kuṇdamayan, *ch.*, 59, 63.
 Kuṇḍavai, Kuṇḍavā or Kūṇḍavā, *queen of Vimalāditya*, [20], 126, 196.
 Kuṇḍavai, *sister of* Kulōttuṅga I., 127, 196.
 Kuṇḍavai or Kuṇḍavaiyār, *sister of Rājārāja I.*, [15], [16], [19], 196.
 Kuṇḍavai or Kuṇḍavaiyār, *queen of Vikramāditya I. (Bāṇa k.)*, 88, 100, 101.
 Kuṇḍavai, *road*, 213.
 kuṇḍil, *land*, 274, 330.
 kuṇḍumaṇi, *weight*, 274n.
 Kuṇḍūr, *vi.*, 73, 75, 87, 111, 445, 449, 450, 465.
 Kuṇḍūr-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 445, 463.
 Kuṇḍuvāy, *channel*, 317.
 Kuṇḍilapura (*sic.* Kuṇḍālapura), *s. a.* Kōlār, 99, 100.
 Kuṇḍjapevil, *vi.*, 257.
 Kuṇḍjaramallan, *biruda of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Kuṇḍjiramalli, *f.*, 258, 259.
 Kuṇṇattūr, *vi.*, 49n.
 Kuṇṇūr, *vi.*, 443, 446, 450, 461.
 Kuṇṇādi Tiruppori, *m.*, 293.
 Kuṇṇakāli Sōmayājiyār, *m.*, 177.
 Kuṇṇa-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 152, 154.
 Kuṇṇa-nāḍu, *di.*, 118.
 Kuṇṇa Nakkan, *m.*, 318.

Kuṇṇaṇ Paramēśvaraṇ, *m.*, 322.
 Kuṇṇaṇ Śiṅgaṇ, *m.*, 322.
 Kuṇṇattūr, *s. a.* Kuṇṇattūr, 49n.
 Kuṇṇattūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 49, 73, 74, 76, 78, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88.
 kuṇṇi, *gold and silver weight*, (=2 grains), 13, 311, 312, 318, 390, 427.
 Kuṇṇiyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 234.
 Kuntala, Kuntala or Kondala, *co.*, 128, 129, 132, 140, 142, 146, 176.
 Kuntalas, *the Chālukyas*, 32, 140.
 Kūra, *vi.*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Kūram, *vi.*, [5], [11], 21n, 22n, 49, 266, 269, 273.
 Kuraṅgādi, *land*, 97.
 Kuṇṇattūr, *vi.*, 357, 358.
 Kuravaśēri, *vi.*, 168.
 kuṇṇi, *s. a.* sabhā, 17n, 176n, 330.
 Kuṇṇichchi, *vi.*, 293.
 Kūriyūr, *vi.*, 199, 200.
 kuṇṇam, *a fine*, 38, 43, 121, 122.
 Kūṇṇaṅgōṇ, *m.*, 443, 444, 459, 462.
 Kūṇṇuva-Nāyanār, *Chōla k. and saint*, [3].
 kūrū, *a sub-division*, 3, 148, 332, 335, 348, 351, 355.
 Kuru, *tribe*, 457.
 Kurugai, *vi.*, 151n.
 Kurugaikāvalan Ārāvamudu, *m.*, 151.
 Kuṇṇukkai-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 199, 200.
 Kuṇṇukkai-nāḍu, *di.*, 427, 429.
 Kurukshētra, *te.*, 360, 361.
 kurukshētra, *war*, 336.
 Kurukshētradēva, *god*, 336, 337.
 Kurukularāyaṇ, *m.*, 217.
 Kuṇṇumadai, *vi.*, 446.
 Kuṇṇumbas, *people*, 446.
 Kuṇṇumbil, *vi.*, 427, 429.
 Kuṇṇumi, *vi.*, 418n.
 Kuṇṇu-nāḍu, *di.*, 446.
 Kuṇṇundurai, or Kuṇṇundurai-maḍu, *pond*, 430, 436.
 Kuṇṇundurai, *channel*, 432.
 kuṇṇuṇi, *gram and liquid measure*, 7n, 8, 118, 136, 139, 171, 189, 213, 216, 229, 266, 273, 274, 275, 282, 308, 316, 317, 318, 320, 321, 390, 427, 428, 471, 472.
 kuśakkānam, *tax*, 311, 391.
 kuśālī, 291n.
 Kuśappēṇṇu, *vi.*, 318, 319, 321.
 Kuśavaṇkalāṇi, *land*, 480.
 Kuśavaṇpattī, *land*, 104.
 Kūttādi Nānūṇṇuvaṇ, *m.*, 428, 439.
 kuttai, *a kind of paddy*, 363.
 kūttam, *an assembly*, 358.
 Kūttan Gangaikondān, *m.*, 472.
 Kūttan Sōmadēvaṇ, *m.*, 158.
 Kūtta-Perumāṇaḍigal, *s. a.* Natarāja, 104.
 Kūttēra-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār, *m.*, 111.
 kūttu, *a dance*, 379.
 Kuṇṇattūr, *vi.*, 247.
 kuvāl, *a heap*, 222.
 Kuṇṇaikaḍu, *vi.*, 16.
 Kuṇṇaikaḍu-nāḍu, *di.*, 16.
 Kuṇṇaaimalai, *vi.*, 445, 446, 450, 464.
 Kuṇṇāla, Kuṇṇālapura, Kōlālapura or Kōlāhala-pura, *s. a.* Kōlār, 99, 100n, 101n, 105n, 108n, 122, 136, 138.
 Kuṇṇāla-nāḍu, *di.*, 136, 138.

Kuvalayadivākara-Mūvëndavēlāṇ, *sur. of Vīdiyan*
Tirumālirūñjōlai, 117.
Kuvalayasundara-Mūvëndavēlāṇ, *sur. of Vēlāṇ*
Kumaraṇ, 163.
Kuvalayāśva, *sur. of Dhundhumāra*, 414n.
Kuvānai Śīrāṇ, *m.*, 438.
Kuvāṇ Māraṇ, *or Māraṇ, sur. of Perumbiḍugu*
Muttaraiyan I., [7], 441n.
Kuvēra, *see* Kubēra.

L

lakṣhaṇa, *an inscription*, 294.
Lakshmadēva, *ch.*, 53.
Lakshmana, *the epic hero*, 190n.
Lakshmi, *goddess*, 28, 72, 117, 119, 127, 129, 142,
146, 158, 176, 185, 188, 414, 417, 420, 421,
458, 461, 464, 468.
Lakshminarasimhasvāmin, *te.*, 159n.
Lakshminārayaṇa, *te.*, 172.
Lakulīśvara-Paṇḍita, *m.*, 27, 28.
Lakulīśa-Pāsupata, *sect*, 27.
language and alphabet:—
Brāhmi, [2].
Drāviḍi, [1].
Grantha, 50, 90, 97, 236n, 333n, 442.
Kanarese, [4]n, 52, 127, 138n, 162n, 307n.
Malayālam, 147n.
Prākṛit, [5], [6], 168n.
Sanskrit, [1], [2], [5], 15n, [22], 20n, 30, 49,
50, 86, 90, 99, 125, 132, 134, 152, 155,
179, 185n, 216n, 219n, 230n, 236, 242,
243, 265, 267, 268, 291n, 321n, 384, 389,
390, 392, 426n, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447,
448, 456, 460.
Tamil, [1], [2], [4], [10], [12], [13], [14],
[15], [16], [17], [18], [19], [22], 20n,
30n, 49, 50, 52, 56, 62, 81, 86, 90, 92n,
97, 99n, 117n, 122, 125, 126, 127, 128,
142n, 144n, 147, 152, 164n, 168, 178, 179,
181, 185n, 190n, 195, 197, 198, 208,
209n, 212n, 218, 228n, 230n, 236, 243,
256n, 257, 258n, 265, 266, 267, 268, 351,
384, 385n, 386, 388n, 389, 390, 392,
416n, 417n, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447,
448, 451n, 452n, 453n, 454n, 459, 460,
464, 478.
Telugu, [4n], [5], 33n, 125, 127, 128, 131,
142n, 152, 162n, 179, 181, 243, 376, 386.
Vatteluttu, [10], 239, 243, 375, 442.
Laṅkā, *s. a.* Ceylon, [10], [11], 55, 56, 63, 231,
387, 421, 442, 446.
Lāṭa, *s. a.* Gujarat, [19].
Leyden grant *or* plate, [4], [14], [16], [21], 14,
21, 26, 102n, 126, 162n, 163n, 238, 246, 265,
278, 301, 305n, 308n, 383, 386, 387, 388, 391,
416n, 417n, 418n, 419n, 464.
liṅga *or* Śiva-liṅga, [3]n, 296, 297, 345n, 382, 418.
lipi, *a letter*, 413.
Lōkālōka, *mo.*, 345, 414, 418.
Lōkamahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *sur. of*
Maṇimaṅgalam, 49, 51.
Lōkamahārāya, *m.*, 365, 386.
Lōkamahārāya-Tiruchehirrambalattālvār, *te.*,
365, 366.
Lōkamārāyapperuñjeru, *field*, 276.
lunar race, [17], 127, 385n, 388, 416n, 417n,
424, 443, 446, 449, 458.

M

mā, *gold and silver weight*, 390, 427, 428, 474,
475, 476.
mā, *land measure*, 234, 235, 247, 248, 249, 260,
280, 281, 285, 300, 312, 330, 344, 355, 365,
377, 383.
māḍai, *a gold coin*, 136, 138, 139, 162.
māḍai-kūli, 162.
Maḍaippalli, *a kitchen*, 234.
Madakōḍu, *vi.*, 37.
Mādamalingam, *vi.*, [19], 469.
Māḍalaṇ Kunra Nakkaṇ, *m.*, 322.
Māḍaṇ, *m.*, 91.
maḍavilāgam *or* maḍavilāgam *or* tirumaḍai-
vilāgam, *a quarter in the environs of a temple*,
48, 167, 216, 322, 472.
maddalam, *a musical instrument*, 319.
Mādēva bhāṭṭa *m.*, 330.
Mādēvaḍigalār, Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār, Pirāṭṭiyār,
Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār Mādēvaḍigalār, *or* Pirānta-
kaṇ-Mādēvaḍigalār, *sur. of Śembiyaṇ Mādēvi-
yar*, [14], 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 306, 307,
318n.
Mādēvaṇ, Kāri Dēvaṇpuram, *m.*, 278.
Mādēvi-Arāndimaṅgalam, *sur. of Vēḍāl*, 224, 225.
Mādhava-Bhāṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 77, 78, 79, 81, 330.
Mādhava-Kramavittan, *m.*, 64, 71, 96, 113.
Madhukannava, *m.*, 59n.
Madhurā, *s. a.* Madura, [4n], [10], [18], 18, 43,
206, 209n, 215, 265, 272, 460.
Madhuraguna, *m.*, 443, 459.
Madhurāntaka, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36n.
Madhurāntaka, *Chōla k.*, 102.
Madhurāntaka, *sur. of Parāntaka*, [10].
Madhurāntaka, *Telugu Chōḍa, ch.*, 33n.
Madhurāntaka, *sur. of Rājendra-Chōḍa I.*, [22],
388, 389, 422, 423, 424, 425.
Madhurāntaka *or* Madhurāntakadēva, *sur. of*
Uttama-Chōḍa, [14], [16], 45n, 102, 196, 251,
262, 272, 276, 278, 279, 294, 295, 296, 297,
300, 318, 379, 383, 386, 387, 420, 421n.
Madhurāntakadēva, *Nāgavams k.*, [19].
Madhurāntaka-Irukkuvēl, *sur. of Bhūti-Vikrama-
kēsarin, m.*, 249.
Madhurāntaka Kaḍuttalai Maṇṇāḍi, *m.*, 350.
Madhurāntaka Mūvëndavēlāṇ, *sur. of Śīrriṅgaṇ-
Uḍaiyaṇ Kōyil-Mayilai*, 379.
Madhurāntakaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 62.
Madhurāntaka-Pottappichōḷa, *sur. of Tamma-
siddhi*, 207.
Madhurāntaka-Pottappichōḷa, *sur. of Nallasiddhi*,
207.
Madhurāntakī, *queen of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 131, 156,
178, 179, 196.
Madhyārjuna, *s. a.*, Idaimarudūr, 155.
Madhyārjuna-māhātmya, *Sanskrit work*, 155n.
madhyastha, *an arbitrator*, 2, 4, 5, 73, 155, 233,
267, 275, 288, 324, 327, 330, 332, 333, 334,
335, 336, 337, 345, 356, 371.
Mādilaṇ Kalvaṇ Gerudaṇ, *m.*, 322.
Madimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 39.
Madirai, Madurai *or* Madhurā, *s. a.* Madura,
[7], 18, 19, 43, 44, 46, 83, 84, 205, 206, 209n,
212, 215, 218, 219, 232, 234, 235, 236, 237,
238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 251, 253, 254,
266, 267, 275, 289, 292.

- Madiraiakonḍa or Madiraiakonḍa Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [9], [10], 18, 250, 267, 279, 280, 386, 441, 449.
- Madiraiakonḍa Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Gaṇḍarāditya, [14], 250, 251, 252, 253, 254.
- Madiraiyūm Ilamumkonḍa Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [11].
- Madiśūdāṇa (Madhusūdāna), *k.*, 57.
- Madras, *vi.*, 33n, 49n, 52, 73n, 76n, 133, 337.
- Madras Museum, [5], [17], 8, 264, 348, 441, 442, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449.
- Madura, *vi.*, [4]n, [9], [10], [11], 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 251, 253, 254, 267, 275, 292, 441, 443, 445, 446, 449, 460, 473, 474, 475.
- Maduraiyūm Ilamum-konḍa, *title of* Parāntaka I., 386.
- Ditto, *title of* Kulōttunga III, 206.
- Ditto, *title of* Rājādhirāja II, 206.
- Maduramaṇḍalam or Madhura, *co.*, [19], [86], 468.
- Maduramaṇḍalam, *vi.*, 365.
- Madurāntaka, *road*, 177.
- Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam, *s. a.* Madurāntakam, 173, 176, 202, 204.
- Madurāntakachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
- Madurāntakadēvaṇ, *building*, 427, 428.
- Madurāntukadēvaṇ-māḍai, *coin*, [22].
- Madurāntaka Karumbuḷār, *m.*, 230.
- Madurāntakam, *vi.*, 79, 126, 141, 173, 174, 178, 179, 202.
- Madurāntakaṇ-Kaṇḍarādittanār, *ch.*, 102.
- Madurāntakaṇ-māḍai, *coin*, 143, 164.
- Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, *sur. of* Koyil Mayilai, 307.
- Maduvanaṇ, *ch.*, 37.
- madya-pāna, *intoxicating drinks*, 137.
- Magadha, *co.*, 388, 422, 444, 461.
- Māgaṇḍanaṇ, *m.*, 329.
- magaṇmai, 177.
- Māgaṇūr, *vi.*, 49n, 51, 77.
- Māgaṇūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 49, 57, 63, 70, 118, 139, 140.
- Maḡōḍai, *s. a.* Tiruvaṇjaikkalam, 31.
- Mahābali, *mythical k.*, 90, 91, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101.
- Mahābalibānarāja, *see* Mahāvalivānarāja.
- Mahābalipuram, *vi.*, 345n, 356.
- Mahābhārata, *epic poem*, [1], 385n, 416n, 417n, 443, 445, 460.
- mahādaṇḍanāyaka, *a general*, 32, 37.
- Mahādēva-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 329, 330.
- Mahādēva, *s. a.* Śiva, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 106, 107, 114, 119, 120, 136, 148, 162, 176, 199, 200, 202, 221, 222, 227, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 243, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 259, 260, 281, 282, 283, 286, 288, 291, 292, 293, 294, 306, 307, 310, 311, 345, 352, 354, 358, 373, 374, 384, 390, 414n, 428, 435, 437, 465, 469, 470, 471, 473.
- Mahādēva-Bhaṭṭāraka, *god*, 280.
- Mahādēva Piḍāraṇ, *m.*, 426.
- mahājana, 9n.
- Mahājanapriyaṇ, *sur. of* Ilakkuvanaṇ Pañchanedi Ālumbirāṇ, 78.
- Mahājanapriyaṇ, *m.*, 83.
- Mahākūṭa, *vi.*, 31n.
- Mahāliṅgasvāmin, *te.*, [17], 155, 260, 284, 378.
- Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, *title*, 32, 59.
- Mahārājādhirāja, *title*, 195, 198.
- Mahārājapāḍi, Mahārājavāḍi, or Mārūyapāḍi, *s. a.* Mārjavāḍi, 106, 107, 350.
- Mahārathas, 443, 444, 446.
- Mahāthēra Ananda, *author*, [22].
- Mahātitha, *vi.*, [11].
- Mahāvali (Mahābali) vānarāja, Māvalivānarāja, Mahāvalibānarsa or Mahāvalivānarāja, *Bāṇa title*, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97.
- Mahāvalivānarāja or Māvalivānarāja, *sur. of* Vikramāditya I., 90, 94.
- Mahāvamsa, *Singhalese chronicle*, [2], [4]n, [11], [15], [53], 59, 195, 206, 231, 255, 449n.
- Mahāvishṇu, *see* Viṣṇu.
- Mahēndra, *s. a.* Indra, 461.
- Mahēndragiri, *hill*, [26], 69n, 388n.
- Mahēndravāḍi, *vi.*, [6].
- Mahēndravarman I., *Pallava k.*, [5].
- Māhēśvara or Śrī-Māhēśvara, 24, 26, 30, 39, 41, 43, 44, 48, 94, 96, 97, 100, 101, 111, 120, 148, 155, 158, 159, 172, 186, 200, 202, 210, 222, 223, 227, 228, 229, 231, 234, 235, 242, 245, 247, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258, 260, 263, 264, 277, 278, 286, 288, 292, 322, 352, 354, 358, 376, 382, 472, 473.
- Māhēśvara-kāṇi, *land given to Māhēśvara*, 472.
- Māhēśvarapperumakkal, *body of*, 245n.
- Mahinda IV., *Ceylon k.*, [15], 255.
- Mahinda V., *Ceylon k.*, [18].
- Mahinda, *Ceylon k.*, 449n.
- Mahipāla, *ch.*, 210n.
- Mahipāla I., *Pāla k.*, [19], 388, 425, 462.
- Mahipālakulakālanallūr, *s. a.* Śāttāṅḍi, 210, 212, 214, 216.
- Mahipālakulakālapēraraiaṇ, *sur. of* Tirumaṇap-picheṇ, 469, 470.
- makaratōraṇa, *an ornamental arch*, 37.
- Makutēśvara, *te.*, 31n.
- Malaikkūṭram, *di.*, 197.
- Malaiyaṇ Vinaiyai-venṇāṇ, *ch.*, 208.
- Maḷa-Koṅgam, *co.*, 446.
- Malakūṭa, *s. a.* Malai-kūṭram, 197.
- Malalaimaṇḍalam, *vi.*, 365, 366.
- Malaiyūr, *vi.*, [21], 468.
- Maḷa-nāḍu, *di.*, 367, 368.
- Maḷapāḍi, *s. a.* Tirumalavāḍi, 182.
- Maḷappirāṇ Kumārasāmi-Kramavittāṇ, *m.*, 168.
- Maḷava, *people*, 446.
- Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundarasōḷāṇ, *ch.*, 476, 477.
- Maḷavaraiyaṇ, *ch.*, 286, 287.
- Maḷavarāyaṇ, *m.*, 217.
- Malaya, *mo.*, 388, 422.
- Malayāla retinū, [13].
- māligai, *palace*, 475.
- Maḷisai, *vi.*, 429, 437.
- Maḷisai-kāṭṭu or Maḷisāṭṭu (*sic.* for Maḷisai-nāḍu), 429n.
- Maḷisai-nāḍu, *di.*, 429n, 437.
- Māḷkhēḍ, *vi.*, 390.
- Malladēva, *Bāṇa k.*, 90.
- Mallapadēva, *E. Chalukya k.*, 127, 128, 131, 179, 180, 181.
- Malliyanāṇ, *ch.*, 68.
- Malliyūr, *vi.*, 89n.
- Māmallapuram, *vi.*, 30n, 165, 186n.
- Māmaṇḍūr, *vi.*, 1, 8.
- Mānābharāṇa, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 52, 56, 59.
- Mānābharāṇa I., *Ceylon k.*, 59, 63.

- Mānābharanaṇ, *sur. of Śōliyavaraiyaṇ*, 97.
 maṇai, 260.
 maṇai-arudu, *channel*, 57, 75, 78, 83.
 Maṇaiyil, *vi.*, 391, 431.
 Maṇaiyil (or Maṇayil)-nāḍu, *di.*, 289, 291, 431.
 Maṇaiyir (Maṇayir, Maṇayil or Maṇavir)-
 kōttam, *di.*, 136, 291, 365, 366, 367, 375, 426,
 438.
 Mānakkavāram, *see* Nakkavāram.
 Mānakkurāi Vīranārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 282, 283.
 Maṇali, *vi.*, 133, 134.
 maṇalidu, 288.
 Maṇalikkāl, *channel*, 108.
 Maṇalūr, *vi.*, 129, 144, 147, 176.
 Maṇamēlkudi, *vi.*, 197.
 Māṇaṇ Arayērru-Bhaṭṭaṇ or Māṇaṇ Ariyēru, *m.*,
 429, 437.
 Māṇaṇ Kambaṇ, *m.*, 428, 429.
 Mānasarpa, *m.*, 172.
 Maṇavāḷapperumāl, *image of*, 261, 262, 362, 363.
 Māṇavittu-kāl, *channel*, 253.
 Maṇḍaikula-nāḍu, *di.*, 119n.
 Maṇḍakolattūr, *vi.*, 119n.
 Mandākrānta, *metre*, 45.
 maṇḍalam, *a country*, 45, 46, 81, 83.
 Maṇḍalika or Maṇḍalin, *title*, 53, 63, 68n.
 Mandara, *mo.*, 385, 415.
 Mandaragaurava, *sur. of Rājasimha III*, 444.
 Mandaragauravamāṅgalam, *sur. of Nāṇcheygai-*
 puttūr, 443, 444, 446, 450, 459, 462.
 Māṇḍhātri, *mythical solar k.*, [4], 385, 414, 415n.
 Mandiram, *vi.*, 103, 104, 114, 117.
 Māṅgāḍu, *vi.*, 119n, 329.
 Māṅgāḍu-nāḍu, *di.*, 118, 263, 264, 429, 437.
 Māṅgāḍūr, *vi.*, [6].
 Maṅgalasēnāpati . . . *m.*, 330n.
 Maṅgalam, *vi.*, 391, 430, 431.
 Maṅgalāṅgilāṇ, *the headman of Maṅgalam*, 81,
 82, 118.
 Maṅgalapura, *vi.*, [6], 446.
 Maṅgalavāsal or Maṅgalavāyil, *vi.*, 234, 389, 426.
 Maṅgalēsa, *W. Chalukya k.*, 31n.
 maṇi, *a gem*, 475.
 māpi *a brahmachārin*, 227, 273, 285, 319.
 mānikkam, *a ruby*, 297.
 Mānikkaṇ Durandaraṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Mānikkaṇ Eḍuttapādamaṇ, *m.*, 427, 428, 483.
 Mānikkaśētti, *m.*, 295.
 Maṇimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 31, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 64,
 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86,
 87, 88, 125, 126, 128, 139, 151n, 178, 190, 191,
 192, 193, 194, 195, 330.
 Maṇivannīśvara, *te.*, 159.
 Maṇivāchi, *vi.*, 443, 444, 450, 459.
 maṇjādi, *gold and silver weight*, 38, 114, 151, 163,
 164, 177, 189, 236, 237, 239, 262, 266, 273,
 274, 291, 292, 293, 311, 312, 318, 343, 372,
 390, 427, 428, 474, 475, 476, 477.
 maṇjikkam, 30, 97n, 204, 327, 329, 330, 357,
 358.
 Maṇjippayaṇ or Maṇjippayaṇār, *ch.*, 65, 68, 70.
 Manmatha, *god*, 422.
 Maṇnaichey or Maṇnichhey, *field*, 309, 317.
 Maṇnaikkadakkam or Maṇnai, *s. a. Māḷkhēd*,
 [17], [18], 28, 390, 430, 466, 468.
 Maṇnaikōṇḍa-Chōḷa, *sur. of Rājendra-Chōḷa I.*,
 [18].
 Maṇṇālaiyamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 391, 431.
 Maṇṇaṇār, *s. a. Vishnu*, 87.
 Maṇṇaṇ Kannaṇ, *m.*, 374, 375.
 Mannar, *gulf of*, 130, 144, 147n.
 Maṇṇarai, *vi.*, 31, 43, 44.
 Maṇṇārguḍi, *vi.*, 126, 465, 470.
 Maṇṇe, *vi.*, 390, 466.
 Maṇṇikkāl, *channel*, 51, 63.
 Maṇṇikurichchi, *vi.*, 446.
 maṇṇilai, 247.
 Maṇṇi-nāḍu, or Maṇṇi-nāṇḍu, *di.*, 152, 162, 190.
 maṇṇādi, *a shepherd*, 119, 159, 200, 362.
 Maṇṇādi, *m.*, 91.
 Maṇṇaṇ Kuṇamāri, *m.*, 378.
 maṇṇu, maṇṇupāḍal, or maṇṇupāḍu, *tax*, 19, 38,
 43, 51n, 96n, 222n, 226, 262, 311, 356n, 358,
 374, 391, 436.
 Maṇu, *sage*, [1], [4], [15], 38, 57, 70, 113, 114,
 117, 146, 176, 184, 191, 210, 212, 218, 384,
 413, 419, 461.
 Maṇukula, *the Chōḷa family*, [9].
 Maṇukulāditya, *s. a. Āditya I.*, [9].
 Maṇukula chōḷamāṇi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *vi.*, [9].
 Mānyakhēṭa, *s. a. Māḷkhēd*, [18], 390, 466.
 Māppappālam, *see* Pappālam.
 Maṇa or Maṇava, *tribe*, 206, 212, 268.
 maṇaividam, *secret apartment*, 427.
 maṇaiyili, 300.
 marakkāl, *grain and liquid measure*, 8, 113, 139,
 171, 189, 190, 367.
 Māraṇ, *see* Kuvāvaṇ, Māraṇ.
 Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 294.
 Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, *sur. of Parāntaka Neḍuṇjādai-*
 yaṇ, 442, 449.
 Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ, *ch.*, 242, 243.
 Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ, *sur. of Iḷaṅgōvadiyaṇ-*
 yaṇ, 441n.
 Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, *sur. of Varaguṇa I.*, 448.
 Māraṇjādaiyaṇ, *sur. of Varaguṇa II.*, 449.
 Mārapidugu (or Mālpidugu)-vadi, *path*, 326, 327,
 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 346, 349, 353, 355, 360.
 Mārasimha, *ch.*, 33.
 Maṇavaṇ, *caste*, 268.
 Maṇavaṇ Pūdiyār, *s. a. Tennavaṇ Iḷaṅgōvēlār*,
 228.
 Māraṇvarmaṇ, *sur. of Rājasimha I.*, 442, 446.
 Māraṇvarmaṇ, *sur. of Rājasimha III.*, 443, 459.
 Māraṇvarmaṇ, *sur. of Arikēsari Asamasaman*
 Māraṇvarmaṇ, 463.
 Māraṇvarmaṇ, *sur. of kulaśēkhara*, 465n.
 Māraṇvijayōttuṅgavarmaṇ, *Katāha k.*, [21], 466.
 Mārayaṇ, *s. a. Mārasimha*, 32, 37.
 māri, *fineness*, 232n.
 Maṇichi, *sage*, 413n.
 Mārjavāda or Mārjavādi, *di.*, 106, 350.
 Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa, 416n.
 Mārkkamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 151.
 Mārttumālai-Kollai, *field*, 288.
 Maruda-nāḍu, *di.*, 26.
 Marudañcheruvu, *field*, 226.
 Marudaṇ Dēvaṇ, *m.*, 159.
 Marudaṅga-Vēlāṇ, *s. a. Vēlāṇ Kariyaṇ*, 46.
 Marudaṇ Pīramakuṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 261.
 Marudu, *tree*, 155.
 Marudūr, *vi.*, 239, 241, 442, 445, 446, 447, 450,
 464.
 Marugal-nāḍu, *di.*, 428, 429.
 Marutta, *mythical solar k.*, 385, 416.
 maruvu, *plant*, 392, 437.
 maṣakkal, *cultivated field*, 264.

Māṣuṇidēsam, *co.*, [19], 468.
 māshaka, *gold weight*, 257, 258.
 matha, 138, 165, 167, 374, 375.
 mātḥāpatya, 138n.
 Mathurā *or* Madhurā, *vi.*, [19], 151n.
 Mātiruvadi, *pathway*, 281.
 Mātrīśivas, 367, 368.
 Matsyapurāṇa, *Sanskrit work*, 413n.
 Matṭaimūṇṇumā, *land*, 310.
 mattali, *a drummer*, 273.
 Mattavānāchchēri, *quarter of Mēlpādi*, 24.
 Mattavilāsaprahasana, *work*, [5].
 mātṭirai, 189.
 Mattuvali Śīrilāṅgō-Bhaṭṭan, *m.*, 85.
 Maunakumaramārtāṇḍan, *enclosure*, 223, 224.
 Maurya, *dy.*, [1].
 māvirai, 311, 391, 436.
 Māyāna, *m.*, 389, 426.
 Māyān Kāñjaṇ, *m.*, 282.
 Māyā-Pāṇḍya, *k.*, 443, 446, 449, 457.
 Mayidavōlu, *vi.*, [6].
 Māyilatti, *m.*, 347.
 Māyirūṇḍam, *vi.*, [21], 469.
 mēghāḍambar *or* megh-ḍambar, *explained*, 37n.
 Mēl-Adaiyāru-nāḍu, *di.*, 89.
 Mēladavāy, *vi.*, 299.
 Mēlaikkōyil, *te.*, 234.
 Mēlaikkūlam, *tank*, 319.
 Mēlappalūgūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 375.
 mēleri, 286.
 Mēlmalai-Mēlūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 431, 432, 438.
 Mēl(*or* Mēṇ)malai-Palaiyaṇūr-nāḍu, *see* Palai-
 yaṇūr-nāḍu.
 Mēlpādi, Mēlpāti *or* Mērpādi, *vi.*, 22, 23, 24, 25,
 26, 27, 28, 29, 103, 387, 391, 431.
 Mēlūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 198, 199.
 mēṇadai, 308, 309, 310.
 Mēṇāraṇamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 293.
 Mēṇmalai *or* Mēlmalai, *the western hill*, 134.
 Mērkā-(*or* Mēlkkāl)-nāḍu, *di.*, 152, 209.
 Mērkāviri *or* Mēlkkāviri, *vi.*, 377, 383.
 Mērkūdi, *vi.*, 352, 354.
 Mēru, *mo.*, 142, 146, 175, 176, 413n.
 mēru, *a dāna*, 443, 460.
 Indravajrā, *metre*, 86.
 mēttēttam, *high land*, 288.
 mēttu-vāykkāl, *high-level channel*, 435.
 Mēvilimbaṅgam, *vi.*, [21], 469.
 meykāppān, *a body-guard*, 239.
 Meypporunāyaṇār, *Saiva saint*, 233.
 Midugūr, *or* Miduvār, *vi.*, 391, 433.
 Mīdūr, *vi.*, 277.
 Mīgōlai, *di.*, 168, 171.
 Mīkarai-nāḍu, *see* Mīyārai-nāḍu.
 Milāḍudaiyār, *s.a.* Meypporunāyaṇār, 223.
 Milāḍudaiyārpalli, *te.*, 223, 224.
 Milalaikkūram, *di.*, 462.
 Mīmāṃsā, *philosophy*, 376.
 Mīṇavaṇ, *title*, 55.
 Mīṇava, *s.a.* Pāṇḍya, 57, 72, 81, 119, 461.
 Mīṇavaṇ Muvēndavēlān, *ch.*, 45, 217.
 Mīṇavaṇ-Muvēndavēlān, *sur. of* Ādittan, 293.
 Mīṇavaṇ-Muvēndavēlān, *sur. of* Araiyaṇ Śrīkaṇ-
 ḍan, 427, 429.
 Mīṇavaṇ-Muvēndavēlān, *sur. of* Vēlān Gaṇḍarā-
 dichchan, 308, 311, 312.
 Mīṇḍigal, *vi.*, 52, 106.

Mīṇjūr, *vi.*, 85.
 Mīśēngili (*or* Mīśēngiliyūr)-nāḍu, *di.*, 171, 438.
 Mīvali-Vāvalūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 227, 228.
 Mīyāru, Mīyārai (*or* Mīkarai)-nāḍu, *di.*, 30, 89n,
 94, 96, 97, 102, 107, 111.
 mīyāṭchi, 307, 308, 311, 459, 460.
 Mīyḡundāru, *di.*, 444, 450, 462.
 Mīyvākkāṇkarai, *field*, 286.
 Mīyvali-Tāyaṇūr, *vi.*, 351, 352, 354.
 Mōḍaṇ Śūri, *m.*, 200.
 Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a, *s.a.* Malaikkūram, 197.
 months, solar :—
 Ādi, 18, 46, 47.
 Aippāsi *or* Appigai, 15, 102, 151, 207,
 227.
 Āṇi, 284.
 Kāttigai *or* Kārttigai, 84, 207, 229.
 Mārgali, 301, 319.
 Māsi, 121, 239.
 Paṅguṇi *or* Paṅḡuni, 151, 229, 363.
 Śittirai, Chaitra *or* Chitra, 18, 173, 182,
 185, 227, 267, 275, 363.
 Tai, 79, 207.
 Vaigāsi, 122n, 301, 319, 471.
 Moon, 127, 147n, 415, 445, 446, 459, 464, 472.
 Mōṭṭai Aṅgādi, *m.*, 366.
 Mōṭṭaikkīṇāru, *well*, 435.
 Mōṭṭaiyaṇ, *ch.*, 59, 63.
 Mṛīhasthala (*sic.*, Brihatsthala), *vi.*, 190.
 Mṛityujit, *mythical Chōla k.*, [4], 385, 417.
 Muchukunda, *mythical solar k.*, [4], 385, 415.
 mudal, *cost*, 143.
 Mudakkurai, 479.
 Mudapuram, *vi.*, 280.
 Mudichchōla-nāḍu, *di.*, 239.
 Mudigonda-Chōla, *sur. of* Rājendra-Chōla I.,
 [22], 390.
 Mudigonda (*or* koṇḍā) - Chōla *or* Mudikoṇḍa-
 Śōlaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 33, 36, 58, 62.
 Mudigonda-Śōlaṇ, *hall*, 390n.
 Mudigonda(*or* koṇḍā)śōlapuram (*or* chōlapuram),
sur. of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram, [20], 389,
 390, 425, 426, 427, 428.
 Muḍivaṅḡṇśōlapuram, *sur. of* Karuvār, 30, 44,
 46.
 Muḍumbai, *vi.*, 6.
 Muḍumbai Poṇkūli, *m.*, 330.
 Muḍyaṇūr, *vi.*, 90.
 mugattu-kāl, *high-level channel*, 347.
 Mugavētti, *office*, 118, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390,
 428, 429, 438.
 Mughals, 37n.
 Mukari, *vi.*, 418n.
 Mukhalingam, *vi.*, [22].
 Mukkāl, *field*, 106.
 Mukkōkkilānadi *or* Mukkōkkilānadigal, *queen of*
 Vikrama - Chōla, 79n, 181, 182, 185n, 186,
 189.
 Mukkōkkilānadigal, *queen of* Rājārāja II., 79,
 81.
 Mukkuragā, 477, 479.
 Mukkurumbil *or* Mukkurumbu, *vi.*, 293, 312.
 Mukunda, *s.a.* Vishnu, 385, 415.
 Mūlabhadra, *elephant*, 63.
 Mūlaippāligai, 189n.
 Mūlaiyūr *or* Vāṅga-Mūlaiyūr, *vi.*, 162, 190.
 Mūlaparadai, *see* parudai.

Mularikudi, *vi.*, 280.
 mūlasthāna mūlattāna or mūlattāna, *a central shrine*, 137, 470, 471, 477, 479.
 Mūlasthāna, *s.a.* Vēdagirīśvara, 143, 148, 222.
 Mūlasthāna, *s.a.* Mahālingasvāmin, 379.
 Mūlavarman, *k.*, [7].
 Mūli-Udayadivākaraṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Mullaivāyil, *vi.*, 391, 433.
 Mullaiyūr, *vi.*, 52, 56.
 Mullikkurumbu, *vi.*, 285.
 Mulli-nādu, *di.*, 39.
 Mullūr, *vi.*, 163.
 Mummaḍi-(Mummiḍi or Mummudi)chchōla or Mummudiśōladēva, *sur. of Rājarāja I.*, 14, 22, 29, 30, 229.
 Mummaḍi-Chōḍa, *Chōla prince*, 196.
 Mummaḍi-Chōla, *sur. of Rājarāja I.*, [18].
 Mummaḍi-Śōlaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 62.
 Mummaḍi - Śōlamanḍalam, *sur. of Īlam*, [17].
 Mummaḍiśōlapperunderu, *street*, 22, 23, 24.
 Mummalaivan, *m.*, 254.
 Mumumḍi-Chōla (or Śōla) - Brahma mahārāja (or Mārāyaṇ), *sur. of Kṛishṇa Rāma*, [14], [15].
 Mummudi-Śōla-nallūr, *vi.*, 118, 139, 159, 162.
 Mummudi-Śōla - Pōsaṇ or Mummudi-Chōla-Bhōja, *sur. of Īrāyiravaṇ Pallavayaṇ*, 14, 15, 30.
 Muṇainallūr, *vi.*, 287.
 Muṇaippāḍi, *di.*, 234.
 Muṇaiyaṇ Arumolīdēvaṇ, *m.*, 171, 172.
 mundirigai, *fraction*, 300, 355.
 Mūṅgirkudi, *vi.*, 438.
 Mupparaṣaṇ, *ch.*, 69.
 Muppattiruva-Bhattaṇ, *m.*, 119, 120.
 Mura, *demon*, 426.
 Murāri, *s.a.* Viṣṇu, 420.
 Mūrtti-Vīdividaṇṇaṇ, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 Mūsaṅgi, *vi.*, 28, 468.
 Mūṣittaikkudi, *vi.*, 307, 312, 318, 319.
 Muṭṭa-nādu, *di.*, 228.
 muṭṭai, *tax*, 322.
 Muttaraiyaṇ, *family*, [7].
 Muttaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 254.
 Mūvarkōyil, *te.*, 249, 257.
 Mūvēndi, *ch.*, 37.

N

Nāchchivār, *goddess*, 475, 476
 naḍai-kāl, *channel*, 330.
 Naḍaiyūraṇ, *m.*, 239.
 Nādamuṇi, *Vaiṣṇava Āchārya*, 177n.
 nādaṇ-maṇḍal, *saffron*, 189.
 Nāḍār, *vi.*, 117, 134.
 nāḍāṭchi, *fee for the administration of the district*, 311, 391, 436.
 nādu, *a division*, 38, 44, 46, 94, 113, 114, 117, 134, 142n, 159n, 162, 165, 199, 210, 269, 275, 286, 293, 307, 308, 309, 427, 428, 429, 430, 438.
 nādu-kāval, *tax*, 391, 437.
 naḍuvil-aṅḡādi, 372.
 Naḍuvil (or Naḍuvil)malai-Perumūr-nādu, *see Perumūr-nādu*.
 naḍuvirukkai or naḍuvirukkum, *an arbitrator*, 292, 390, 427.
 Naḍuvir kūṇṇam, *di.*, 462.
 Naḍuvu-tiruttichey, *land*, 77.

Nāga, *race*, [3], 420.
 Nāgalai, *f.*, 32, 37.
 Nāgama-Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 113.
 Nāganārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Nāgaṅgudi, *vi.*, 162.
 Nāgaṇ Vānarājaṇ Aḷagamaiaṇ, *m.*, 368.
 Nāgapattāṇam, *s.a.* Negapatam, [2], [21].
 nagara or nagarattār, *merchants*, 223, 261, 268, 274, 275, 343, 379, 382.
 nagaraṅgalilār, *headmen of towns*, 427.
 Nagercoil, *vi.*, 159.
 Nāgēsvara, *te.*, 276, 283, 382.
 Nāgiriyaṇ Ādittāṇ, *m.*, 318.
 Naippūr or Neppūr, *vi.*, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 Nairs, *sect.*, 130.
 akkaṇ Ēnādi, *m.*, 262.
 Nakkaṇ-Kāḍa(-kāḍaṇ), *m.*, 443, 459, 462.
 Nakkaṇ Kanicheṇ, *m.*, 266, 273, 292.
 Nakkaṇkumān or Kumān *m.*, 443, 444, 459, 462.
 Nakkaṇ Śandirādēvī, *f.*, 235.
 Nakkaṇ Vikramābharani, *f.*, 245.
 Nakkapputtēri, *tank*, 64.
 Nakkavāram or Mānakkavāram, *s.a. the Nicobar islands*, [21], 195, 469.
 Nakshatras :—
 Anurādhā, 122n.
 Āślēshā, 239, 241.
 Āsvini, 210.
 Avittāṇ, (Śravishthā), 186n, 278.
 Chitrā, 83, 182.
 Dhanishthā, 86.
 Hastā, 182, 185.
 Jyēshthā or Tirukkēṭṭai, 186, 189, 190, 301, 318.
 Makhā, 276.
 Mūla, 284.
 Punarvasu, 79.
 Pūrattādi, 185.
 Pushya, 219.
 Rēvatī, 88, 102.
 Rōhinī, 63, 77.
 Śatabhishaj, 73, 74.
 Śravaṇa or Tiruvōṇam, 57, 87, 173, 186n.
 Svāti (Śōdi), 282.
 Tiruvādirai, 301, 319.
 Uttara-Phalgunī, 70.
 Uttirattādi, 185.
 Viśāgam, 301, 319.
 Nakulēsvara, *shrine of*, 90, 109.
 Nālāyiraprabandham, *the Vaiṣṇava Scripture*, 2, 140, 143n, 148, 151n, 186, 187, 233, 268, 272n, 342, 356.
 Nālāyiravaṇ, *m.*, 5, 6.
 nālī, *grain and liquid measure*, 4, 5, 11, 81, 83, 97, 103, 118, 139, 151, 163, 164, 189, 202, 213, 216, 222, 227, 233, 241, 253, 262, 273, 274, 275, 279, 282, 288, 298, 308, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 330, 342, 357, 363, 378, 382, 390, 427, 428, 436.
 Nallasiddhi or Nallasiddharaṣar, *Telugu Chōḍa ch.*, 207.
 nallā or nallāvu, *tax*, 311, 391.
 nallerudu, *tax*, 311, 391.
 Nallūr, *vi.*, 282.
 nālōlai, *calendar*, 301, 321.
 Nālūr, *vi.*, 222.

- Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, *vi.*, [19], [18], 468.
 namanigai, *sacred cloth*, 273, 321.
 Namban Madurāntakadēvaṇ, *m.*, 158.
 Namban Mañjaṇ, *m.*, 362.
 nambi, *a worshipper*, 269n.
 Nambi, *m.*, 66.
 Nambinangai, *f.*, 77.
 Nambi Paṇṇi, *m.*, 228.
 nambirāṭṭi, *a queen*, 288.
 Nambi Śādēvaṇ (Sahādēva), *m.*, 28.
 Nambi Tinaiyaṇ, *m.*, 28.
 Nambiyamallan, *m.*, 225, 226.
 Nambūr, *vi.*, 177.
 Naminandi-Adigal, *Śaiva saint*, 165, 167.
 Nammālvar, *Vaiṣṇava saint*, 2, 148.
 Nāṇamālai-Kramavittan, *m.*, 73.
 Nandavānappuṇam, 306, 307, 311.
 nandikēśvara, *god*, 186.
 Nandi-Kramavittan, *m.*, 73.
 Nandippōṭṭaraiyar, *Pallava k.*, [8], 223, 226, 227, 228, 229n.
 Nandipuram, *vi.*, 233, 234, 476, 477, 478.
 Nandirinangai, 361, 367.
 Nandisāmi-Pōsar, *m.*, 338.
 Nandisuran, *m.*, 295.
 Nandisvara-Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 257.
 Nandivarma-(vanma or panma)maṅgalam, *s. a.*
 Uyyakkondāṇ Tirumalai, 230, 231, 375, 376.
 Nandivarman or Nandivarman-Kādupattigal,
Pallava k., 373, 374.
 Nandivarman, *Pallava k.*, [6], 243, 260, 375, 448.
 Nandivarman, Nandivikramavarman or Vijaya-
 Nandivikramavarman, *Gaṅga-Pallava k.*, 8, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 99.
 Nandiyarājar (or rāyaṇ), *m.*, 213, 217.
 Nāṅgai Varaguṇa-Perumāṇār, *see* Varaguṇa.
 Nāṅgāsi, *field*, 64.
 Nāṅgili, *vi.*, 129, 144, 147, 176.
 Nāṅgoṇṇa-Kadambaṇ, *m.*, 136.
 Nāṅji-nāḍu, *di.*, 159, 162.
 Nāṇṇamaraiyar or Nāṇṇaman, *ch.*, 106, 107.
 Nāṇṇi-Nulambaṇ, *ch.*, 59, 63.
 Nāṇṇūl, *Tāmiḻ Grammar*, 122, 208.
 Nara, *s. a.* Arjuna, 457.
 Nārāipādi, *vi.*, 391, 430.
 Nārakkāṇ Mārāyaṇ Jananāthaṇ, *see* Jananātha.
 Nārakkāṇ Rāman, *ch.*, [17].
 Nārāṇa land, 317.
 Nārāṇan (Nārāyaṇa), *ch.*, 57.
 Narasa, *Vijayanagara k.*, 418n.
 Narasimha, image of, 86.
 Narasimhavarman or Vijaya-Narasimhavarman,
Gaṅga-Pallava k., 8, 90.
 Narasimhavarman I. or Narasiṅgappōṭṭaraiyar,
Pallava k., [8], 49.
 Narasiṅgabhaṭṭan, *m.*, 358.
 Narasiṅgamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 241.
 Narasiṅga-Perumāṇ or Narasiṅga-Perumāṇaḍi-
 gal, *te.*, 239, 241.
 Naratuṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 104.
 Nārāyaṇa, *poet*, 342, 389, 426.
 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuvājayāyājiyār, *m.*, 177.
 Nārāyaṇa-Kramavittan, *m.*, 64, 342.
 Nārāyaṇa Aḍaikkalvaṇ, *m.*, 24, 26.
 Nārāyaṇa-Nambi, *m.*, 151.
 Nārāyaṇaṇār, *m.*, 256.
 Nārāyaṇa Daśapuriyaṇ, *m.*, 247.
 Nārāyaṇa-Karṇali, or Karṇali, *ch.*, 359, 425, 427, 429.
 Nārāyaṇa Mudikoṇḍa-Śōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Nārāyaṇa Rājasimhaṇ, *m.*, 4.
 Nārāyaṇa Sēndappiraṇ Bhaṭṭan, *see* Sēndapiraṇ Bhaṭṭa.
 Nārāyaṇa Tiruchchirrambalam-Uḍaiyaṇ, *m.*, 163.
 Nārāyaṇa Tiruvāyikkulam Uḍaiyaṇ, *m.*, 155.
 Nārcheygai-Puttūr, *s. a.* Sinṇamaṇūr 443, 444, 446, 450, 459, 462.
 Nārēndrapati *mythical k.*, 385, 417.
 Narishyanta, *mythical k.*, 416 n.
 Nārāviri-nāḍu, *di.*, 31.
 Nārppattēṇṇāyira-maṅgalāḍittan, *m.*, 267, 275.
 Nārppattēṇṇāyira-Picheṇ, *sur. of* Aravindan Kuraṇ, 472.
 Nārāyaṇallūr, *vi.*, 438.
 Nāsik, *vi.*, 7n, 15n.
 nātaka (nāḍaga)-śālai, *a theatrical hall*, 260, 261, 379.
 Natarāja, *god*, [13], 104n, 210, 212n, 216n, 288.
 Natēsa, *god*, 185.
 Nāthakōvil, *te.*, 233.
 Nātkiḻnāṭṭōm, 429.
 nattam, *a village site*, 257, 310, 364, 426.
 nāṭṭār or nāṭṭōm, *members of the district assembly*, 291, 392, 427, 437, 444, 462.
 Nāṭṭukkuraṇbu, *vi.*, 446.
 Nāval, *s. a.* Jambu, 134n, 146.
 Nāval, *vi.*, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 Navale-nāḍu, *di.*, 130.
 Nāvaltivu, *s. a.* Jumubdvipa, 446, 461.
 Navilai, *vi.*, 130.
 Nāyakas, *chiefs of Ellore*, 180.
 Nāyaṇār, *god*, 474, 475.
 Neḍumāl, *s. a.* Viṣṇu, 185.
 Neḍuñḍaiyaṇ, *s. a.* Parāntaka Neḍuñḍaiyaṇ, 442, 444, 446.
 Neḍuñjeliyaṇ, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 445.
 Neḍuvayal, *vi.*, 446.
 Negapatam, *vi.*, [2], 269.
 Nelkuppai-uḍaiyaṇ, *m.*, 186.
 Nellūr or Nellore, *vi.*, [6], [12], 33n, 43, 76n, 204, 207, 242, 243.
 Nelvāyppalli or Nelluvāyppalli, *vi.*, 31, 41, 42, 47, 48.
 Nelvēli, *vi.*, 443, 446, 447, 448, 450, 460.
 Nemmeli, *vi.*, 470.
 Neṇmalai-nāḍu, or Nenmali-nāḍu, *di.*, 38, 470, 471.
 Nēriyar, *s. a.* Chōḷa, 446.
 Nerkuṇṇam, *vi.*, [8]n, 225, 226, 293, 307.
 Nērvāyil, *vi.*, 38, 41, 43.
 Neṭṭūr, *vi.*, 206, 218.
 nibandha, nibandam or nivanda, *expenses or arrangements*, 25, 272, 273, 274, 275, 285, 307, 312.
 Nichchayāvāsagan, *flower-garden of*, 216.
 Nicobar Islands, [21], 195.
 Nidubrōlu, *vi.*, 179, 180, 181.
 Nigarili-Chōḷa, *sur. of* Rājendra-Chōḷa I., [22].
 Nigarili-Śōḷa-nāḍu, *di.*, 39.
 Nilagaṅga, *ch.*, 89.
 Nilagaṅga Achchalavīmaṇ Araiśar-Talaivaṇ, *ch.*, 120.

Nilagaṅgaraiyaṅ Annāvaṅ Nāttadigaḷ, *m.*, 354.
 Nilakaṇḍaraiyaṅ Annāvaṅ Nāttadigaḷ, *m.*, 354.
 nilam, *s.a.* veli, 97, 101.
 Nilambēr, *vi.*, 446, 461.
 nilamudal, *land-register* (?), [12], 300.
 nilavōpādi, *tax*, 311.
 Nīli or Iravi (Ravi) Nīli, *Chēra princess*, [13], 235, 236.
 nimandakkāraḥ, *servants*, 48.
 Nimba or Nimbāgrahāra, *s.a.* Vēppattūr, 257, 258.
 Niṇṇai Nūṇṇema-bhaṭṭaṅ, *m.*, 358.
 Niṇṇāṅ, (? *measure*), 164.
 Niṇṇānārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṅ, *m.*, 164.
 Niṇṇān Nakkāṅ, *m.*, 293.
 niṇṇirai, *permanent tax*, 427.
 Nipunilapura (*sic* Kuvalālapura), *s.a.* Kōlār 99, 101, 105, 108.
 niṇṇai, *weight*=100 *palam*, 222.
 nīrkōvai, *land covered with water*, 479.
 nīrkūli, *tax*, 311, 391.
 nīr-vilai, *water-cess*, 143.
 niśadam, niśadi or nichcham, *derivation of*, 230n.
 Nishāda, *family*, 243.
 Nishādhārājar, *m.*, 151.
 nishka, *gold coin*=*kaḷāṇṇu*, 236, 237.
 Niśumbhasūdanī, *goddess*, [7], 386, 418.
 Nitta (Nitya) vinōḍa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 389, 391, 392, 426, 432, 433, 438.
 Nittavinōḍa-valanādu, *di.*, 8, 111, 427, 428.
 Nittūr, *vi.*, 194n, 206, 218.
 nitya, 230n.
 Nīvā, *s.a.* Ponnai, 23, 88, 90.
 Niyamam, *vi.*, [8].
 Niyama-Māgālam, *vi.*, 226n.
 niyata, 230n.
 Nochchikkālūval, *field*, 435.
 Nōlamba, *co.*, [4]n.
 Nombalūr, or Tirunōmbalūr, *quarter of Tēvaṇa-palli*, 31, 45, 46.
 Nonidukolli, *land*, 101.
 Nottūr, *vi.*, 249, 338.
 Nripasikhāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēlāṅ, *sur. of Tiruch-chirrambalam-udaiyaṅ*, 118.
 Nripasikhāmaṇi-Vilupparaiyaṅ, *sur. of Vēlāṅ Kanapuram*, 139.
 Nripatuṅgamaṅgalappēraraiaṅ, *m.*, 225, 226.
 Nripatuṅga, Nripatuṅga-Vikramavarman or Vijayā Gaṅga-Pallava *k.*, 8, 90, 92, 93, 99, 449.
 Nripēndra-Sōlaṅ, *sur. of Ānaichchēvagan*, 62.
 Nūgā, *s.a.* Ponnai, 23, 24, 25, 26.
 Nūlamba, *dy.*, 64, 68.
 Nūlambādhirājar, *m.*, 213.
 Nūlamba Māvilatti, *sur. of Śandiran Elunūrruvaṅ*, *m.*, 326, 327, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 355, 359, 360.
 Nūlamba-pādi, *co.*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 59n, 68n, 105, 107.
 Nūlappiyāru, *vi.*, 73, 76, 358.
 Nūṅambākkam, *vi.*, 438.
 Nūrmadi, *explained*, [17]n.
 Nūrmadi-Chōḷa, *sur. of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.*, [17].

O

Ochchēri, *vi.*, 329.
 Ōdakkūli, *tax*, 311, 391.
 Ōdalpādi, *vi.*, 438.

Odḍa, or Odḍa-vishaya, *co.*, [19], 388, 422, 425, 469.
 Ōdimūkil Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 338.
 Ōdimūkkibhrānta-Kramavittaṅ, *m.*, 6.
 Ōlai, *written order*, 41, 47.
 Ōlai-Eludum, *Secretary*, 426.
 Ōlai-nāyagam, *Chief Secretary*, 289, 292, 301, 307, 308, 312, 390, 427.
 Ōlai Virattāṅ, *m.*, 234.
 Ōṇḡavākkam, *vi.*, 8n.
 Ōḷukarai, *vi.*, 269.
 Ōḷukkaipākkam, *s.a.* Ōṇḡavākkam, (Ōḷukarai ?), 8n, 266, 269, 273.
 Ōmbālvas, *sect*, 444, 462.
 Ōmbattuvēli, *vi.*, 250.
 Ōṇḡadivēli, *s.a.* Ōmbattuvēli, 252, 253.
 Ōraḡaḡam, *vi.*, 165.
 Ōrirukkai, *vi.*, 141, 142, 143.
 Ōṇṇiyūr, Tiruvōṇṇiyūr or Tiruvattiyūr, *vi.*, [12], [13], [18], 33n, 52, 125, 126, 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 205, 235, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243, 246n, 251, 294, 295, 337.
 Ōṇṇiyūraṅ Piradigaṇḡavarmaṅ, *sur. of Maḷavaraiyaṅ Sundarasōḷaṅ*, 476, 477, 479, 480.
 oṭṭūṭṭi, 241.
 Ōvi or Hōvya, *family*, 392, 439.
 Ōymā-nāḡu, *di.*, 148, 200, 202.

P

padāḡai or Pidāḡai, *a hamlet*, 12n, 19, 25.
 pādagaṅ, *land measure*, 177, 204, 247, 249, 256, 257, 300, 344, 349, 360.
 Pādagaṅ, Tiruppādagaṅ or Tiruppādagaṭṭ-Ālvāṅ, *s.a.* Pāṇḡava-Perumāl, 140, 143, 163, 164.
 padakku, *grain measure*, 113, 118, 151, 189, 190, 227, 229, 273, 275, 282, 307, 308, 311, 312, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 382, 472.
 paḡaligai, *a betel-leaf plate*, 11.
 pādamaḷam, 138n, 250.
 pādi, *a quarter*, 268.
 pādikaṇṇāṇṇey, *the wet land of the village watchman*, 46.
 padimāṇṇu, *customary scale*, 381.
 Padinēṭṭunāḡu-kilavaṅ, *sur. of Tiruvēṅḡaḡavaṅ Sāmaṅ*, 151.
 Pādiri-kaḷaṇi, *land*, 57.
 Padmā, *s.a.* Lakshmi, 464.
 paḡuṅaṅ, *part of a jewel*, 475.
 paḡutagaṅ, 337n.
 Paḡuvūr-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 30, 89, 94, 95, 96, 102, 104, 105, 107, 108, 111, 232, 329.
 Paḡuvūr-nāḡu, *di.*, 261, 262, 356, 362, 363.
 Paḡadi, 6.
 Paḡavaṅ Aṅgi, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 Paḡūr-nāḡu, *di.*, 2, 3, 138.
 Paithan, *vi.*, 383.
 Paiyaṅ Tiruvūral, *m.*, 361.
 Paiyyūr (or Paiyūr) - kōṭṭam, *di.*, 118, 139, 365.
 Pākāśāsana, *s.a.* Indra, 443, 460.
 Pākkamballi, *vi.*, 139.
 Pākkūr, *vi.*, 31, 33, 38.
 pāl, *near*, 245.
 Pāla, *dy.*, [18].
 Pālainellūr, *s.a.* Śrīpādanallūr, 25, 26.

- Pālavāy, *channel*, 280.
 Palaiyaṇūr-nādu or Mēlmalai (Mēnmalai)-Palai-
 yaṇūr-nādu, *di.*, 134, 136, 389, 390, 426, 427,
 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 435, 437, 438.
 Palaiyaṇūr, or Palanai, *vi.*, 134, 136, 384, 389,
 390, 391, 392, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430,
 431, 432, 434, 435, 437, 438.
 Palaiyaṇūr-Amma, *s.a.* Ammaiappa, 384.
 Palaiya-vēlam, *quarter of Tanjore*, 382, 383.
 Palaiyūra or Palayūr, *vi.*, 389, 425.
 Palakura-kōttam, *di.*, 89n, 119, 229, 230.
 palam, *weight*, 151, 189, 222, 282, 299, 317, 382,
 475.
 Palambang, *co.*, [21], 466.
 Palanakkudi, *vi.*, 293.
 Pālāru, *ri.*, 88, 143n, 233n.
 palasavi, 297.
 Pālāsiriyaṇ, *m.*, 277.
 Pālāsiriyaṇ Dāmōdiraṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*,
 318.
 Pālāsiriyaṇ Ilakkuvanaṇ (Lakshmaṇa) Kūttap-
 paṇ, *m.*, 155.
 Pālāsiriyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Vaḍugaṇ, *m.*, 318.
 Pālāsiriyaṇ Śāttan Kāri, *m.*, 277.
 Palavāvu, 260.
 Palavēri, *tank*, 101.
 Pālērīkkaḷuval, *sur. of Amaṇambōgam*, 365.
 Pāli *vi.*, 446, 460.
 pālikai, 299.
 palisa, palisai or polisai, *interest*, 9n.
 pallakkaḷuval *low land*, 288.
 Pallava *dy.*, [3], [4]n, [5], [6], [7], [8], [9],
 [10]n, [15]n, 2n, 33, 49, 52, 56, 57n, 59n, 68n,
 81, 134n, 187, 221, 223, 226, 228, 268n, 284,
 288, 373, 375, 386, 419, 443, 444, 446, 447,
 448, 449, 457, 460, 461.
 Pallavabhaṇjana, *sur. of Rājasimha I.*, 442, 446.
 Pallavaiya-peruvāykkāl, *sur. of Kayakkāl*, 111.
 Pallavamalla, *sur. of Nandivarman*, [6], 15n, 49,
 243, 260, 448.
 Pallavaṇ, *title*, 55.
 Pallavanāraṇa (or nārāyaṇa)-vadi, *path*, 324, 336,
 341, 342, 353, 360.
 Pallavaṇ Brahmādarāyaṇ, *sur. of Kēsuvaiaṇ*,
 350.
 Pallavaṇ Brahmādarāyaṇ, *m.*, 329.
 Pallavappēraiaṇ, *m.*, 254.
 Pallāvaram, *vi.*, 125, 126, 131, 138n, 179.
 Pallavatilaka, *family*, [8], 226, 227.
 palli, *a jain temple*, 224, 230, 427.
 palli, *tax?*, 428.
 Pallichchanda, 289, 291, 389, 427, 462, 480.
 Palli-eḷuchchi, 349, 370.
 Palli-paḍai, *a tomb-shrine*, [9], 24, 387.
 Pālmūtṭi, *land*, 245.
 Paluvēṭṭaraiyar, *ch.*, [12], [13].
 Paluvūr, *vi.*, 64.
 Paluvūr, *see* Kīlappaluvūr.
 Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaludi, *Pāṇḍya*
k., 446.
 Pal-yānai-kōkkandaṇ, *explained*, 221.
 Pāmbuṇi-kūṛam, *di.*, 30, 111, 216, 232, 427,
 428.
 Pāmbūr-nādu or Vadagarai Pāmbūr-nādu, *di.*,
 234, 245, 276, 278, 284, 377, 378, 383.
 Pānaichchēripattu, *land*, 379.
 Pāṇaikkudi, *vi.*, 38.
 Pāṇaiyandañjēri, *vi.*, 70.
 Pāṇaiyūr, *vi.*, 254.
 Pāṇaiyūr-nādu or Tenkarai Pāṇaiyūr-nādu, *di.*,
 38, 39, 41, 43, 117, 254, 438.
 paṇan-dūmbu, *palmyra sluice*, 17.
 Pāñchāchārya, 138, 158.
 Pāñchanadēśvara, *shrine and temple*, 21n, 52.
 Pāñchanadi (Pāñchanedi) Lakshmaṇaṇ Malai-
 giniyaniraṇ, *m.*, 86, 88.
 Pāñchanedi Tirukkannapuram-Udaiyaṇ, *ch.*, 162.
 Pāñchapa *mythical solar k.*, [4], 385, 415.
 Pāñchapāṇḍavamalai, *vi.*, [6].
 Pāñchappalli, *vi.*, [19], 468.
 Pāñchava, *s.a.* Pāṇḍya, 144n, 147, 385n, 446,
 460.
 Pāñchavaṇ-Mahādēvi, *queen of Rājendra-Chōla*
I., [21].
 Pāñchavāra 307, 311, 312, 329, 367, 381.
 Pāñchavāra-vāriyam, *committee*, 327, 329.
 paṇḍārakkal, *gold weight*, 295.
 Pāṇḍavadūta, *s.a.* Kṛishṇa, 190n.
 Pāṇḍavadūta-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Pāṇḍava or Pāṇḍavadūta-Perumāḷ, *te.*, 140, 163,
 164n.
 Pāṇḍavas, the five, 144n, 164n, 385, 416.
 Pāṇḍi-Koḍumidi, Pāṇḍikkōḍumudi or Tiruppāṇ-
 dikkōḍumudi, *s.a.* Koḍumudi, 31n, 446.
 Pāṇḍi (or Pāṇḍya) kulāsaṇi-vaḷanādu, *di.*, 117,
 168, 171, 438.
 Pāṇḍi-nādu or Pāṇḍi (Pāṇḍya)-mandalam, *the*
Pāṇḍya country, 15, 33, 36, 147, 159n, 450.
 Pāṇḍi-Perumbāṇaikkāraṇ, *m.*, 445, 465.
 Pāṇḍita-Chōla, *sur. of Rājendra-Chōla I.*, [22],
 127.
 Pāṇḍita-Śōla-terinda-villigal, *regiment*, 127.
 Pāṇḍitavatsala, *biruda of Parāntaka I.*, [13].
 Pāṇḍitavatsala, *biruda of Parāntaka Neduñjadai-*
yaṇ, 446.
 Pāṇḍivāyṭṭurai, *ford*, 287.
 Pāṇḍiyambākkam, *vi.*, 138.
 Pāṇḍiyaṇai-churam-irakkiṇa, *epithet of Sundara-*
Chōla, [14].
 Pāṇḍiyaṇai-irumadi-veṇkaṇḍa-Śōla-chaturvēdi-
 maṇḍalam, *sur. of Maṇimaṇḍalam*, 49, 73, 74,
 76, 78, 81, 83, 85.
 Pāṇḍiyarājar (or rāyaṇ) *m.*, 213, 217.
 Pāṇḍubhūmaṇḍala, *c.*, [22].
 Pāṇḍya or Pāṇḍu, *dy.*, [1], [2], [4], [5], [7],
 [8], [10], [11], [12], [14], [15], [16], [18],
 [19], [20], [21], 14, 24n, 28, 29, 33, 37, 43,
 44, 46, 49n, 52, 55n, 56, 57, 59, 64, 68n, 72,
 81, 83, 84, 119, 128, 129, 130, 140, 142, 144,
 146, 147, 176, 185, 193, 194, 197, 199n, 203,
 205, 206, 212, 215, 218, 219, 231, 232, 255,
 267n, 294, 324, 326, 327, 330, 332, 337, 349,
 350, 355, 359, 360, 361, 375, 376, 377, 378,
 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 385n, 386, 387, 388,
 390, 418n, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 430, 441,
 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450,
 456n, 457n, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464, 465n,
 468, 473, 474, 475.
 Pāṇḍyādhiraṇa, *title*, 446.
 Pāṇḍyas, the five, [4], 130, 144n.
 Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, *sur. of Vīrarājendra I.*, 198.

- Paṅgala, *s. a.* Bengal (?) 57n.
 Paṅgala-nāḍu, *di.* 89, 229, 230, 438.
 Paṅgalar, *people*, 57.
 Paṅgalattarayan, *m.*, 45.
 Paṅgaṇ Kaḍamban, *m.*, 293.
 Pāni, *a country*, 147.
 Paṇmaichchēri, *different quarters*, 372.
 Pannai, *vi.*, [21], 469.
 Paṇṇiyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 234.
 Pappālam or Māppappālam, *vi.*, [21], 195, 469.
 Papphāla, *vi.*, 195.
 Parabumigaṇ Mallan, *m.*, 228.
 Parachakrakōlāhala, *sur. of* Śrī-Māra, 443, 446, 459.
 paraḍai, parudai, mūlaparudai, parushai or parishad, *assembly*, 216n, 229, 245, 260, 275, 276, 284, 377, 383.
 paraikkānam, 391.
 Parakēsari, *Chōla title*, 356, 385, 416.
 Parakēsari, *sur. of* Pārthivēndravarmān, [15], 356.
 Parakēsarin, *mythical Chōla k.*, 385, 416.
 Parakēsari-Mūvēndavēlaṇ, *sur. of* Kodukulavaṇ Śāttan, *m.*, 292, 300, 307, 308, 312.
 Parakēsarivarman, *Chōla k.*, 1, 8n, 31n.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Adhirājēndradēva, 113, 114, 115, 117, 129, 190, 192, 197.
 Parakēsari or Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Āditya II., [15], [16], 21, 262, 263, 278, 279, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Ariṇjaya, 263, 264, 279.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga I., 192n.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga III., 43, 205, 210, 212, 215, 219.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [7], [9], [10], 18, 19, 221, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 259, 266, 267, 275, 279, 289, 292.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājarāja II., 79, 81, 191, 207.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājādhirājadēva II., 207.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājēndra-Chōla I., 15, 16, 27, 28, 107, 108, 111, 132, 429, 465, 468.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājēndradēva, 32, 39, 41, 42, 52, 53, 58, 63, 112, 131n, 191, 192.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Uttama-Chōla, [14]n, [15], [16], 8, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 272, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 308, 311.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Vijayālaya, [7], 17, 18, 19, 266, 267, 273.
 Parakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Vikrama-Chōla, 75, 76, 179, 181, 182, 186, 189.
 Parakēsarivarman, (sic.) *sur. of* Vīrarājēndra I., 192n.
 Parakēsari Viluppārāyaṇ, *sur. of* Nandīsuran, 295.
 Parakēsari-Viluppārāyaṇ, *m.*, 318.
 Parākramabāhu or Parākkamabāhu I., *Ceylon k.*, 59n, 206.
 Parākrama-Pāṇḍu, *Ceylon k.*, 53.
 Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 206.
 Parama, 474, 475.
 Paramamahārāja Rājamārāya, *s. a.* Pārthivēndravarmān, [15].
 Paramasvāmin, *god*, 276, 278.
 Paramēśvara, *s. a.* Śiva, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 231, 247, 249, 285, 376, 378, 423, 477, 479.
 Paramēśvara, *title*, 423n, 445, 446.
 Paramēśvaraṇ Araṅgaṇ, *ch.*, 307.
 Paramēśvaraṇ Kuṇṇaṇ, *m.*, 310.
 Paramēśvara-vadi, *path*, 325, 334, 336, 338, 339, 340, 344, 349, 350, 355, 360.
 Paramēśvaravarman I., *Pallava k.*, 56n.
 Paramēśvaravarman II, *Pallava k.*, 187.
 Paramēśvara-vāykkāl, *channel*, 256.
 Paramēśvara-viṇṇagaram, *s. a.* Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāl, 187.
 Paraṇjōdi Nilan, *m.*, 307.
 Paraṇjōdi Paṭṭālagan, *m.*, 293.
 Parāṅkuśa, *sur. of* Rājasiṃha I., 443, 446, 447, 448, 460.
 Parāntaka I., *Chōla k.*, [6], [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [13], [14], [15], [16], [18], 1, 2n, 17n, 18, 19, 43n, 62n, 92, 106, 196, 221, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 257, 259, 266, 267, 268n, 279, 288, 289, 318n, 327, 386, 387, 419, 441, 449.
 Parāntaka II., *Chōla k.*, [3], [4], [14], [15], [16], 62n, 196, 255, 256, 258, 263, 265n, 375, 379, 383, 387, 419, 478.
 Parāntaka, *m.*, 377.
 Parāntaka or Parāntaka Śadaiyaṇ, *sur. of* Viranārāyaṇa, 443, 444, 446, 447, 449, 457, 459, 461, 462.
 Parāntaka or Parāntakaśarman, *m.*, 442, 443, 444, 453, 459, 462.
 Parāntaka-chaturvēdimanigalam, *sur. of* Kuṇṇattūr, 357, 358.
 Parāntakachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Parāntakadēvaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 62.
 Parāntaka Ilaṅgōvēlūr, *s. a.* Madurāntaka Irukkuvēl, 249, 250, 263.
 Parāntaka Mūvēndavēlaṇ, *sur. of* Śiṇṇiṅgaṇḍaiyaṇ Kōyilmayilai, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382.
 Parāntakandēvi-Ammaṇār, *queen of* Gaṇḍarāditya, [15]n.
 Parāntaka Neḍuṇjādaiyaṇ, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 441, 442, 446, 447, 448, 449.
 Parāntakan Śiṇṇiyavēlār, *see* Śiṇṇiyavēlār.
 Parāntakavarman, *Koḍumālūr ch.*, 285.
 Parāntaka-vāykkāl, *channel*, 249.
 Paraśurāma, *sage*, [1], 28, 388, 422, 423, 468.
 Paravaikkudi, *vi.*, 309, 310.
 Paravas, *people*, 446.
 parihāra, *privilege*, 307, 308, 391, 436.
 Pārijāta, *tree*, 458.
 Pārijātavanēśvara, *te.*, 465.
 parisattam, *sacred cloth*, 299.
 parivāra, *servant*, 242.
 parivārālaya, *the surrounding verandah of a temple*, 24n.
 Pārkuṭṭai, *land*, 101.
 Parpanedi, *land*, 317.
 parru, *a bundle*, 222, 317, 382.
 Pārthivachūdāmani, *mythical solar k.*, 385, 415.
 Pārthivēndra, Pārthivēndra-Mahārāja, Pārthivēndravarmān, Pārthivēndradivarmān, or Pārthivēndrādhivarmān, *k.*, [15], 106, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 329, 330, 332, 333, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346,

- 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361 to 375.
- Partma, *s. a.* Pārthivēndra, 323, 362.
- Pārthivēndra Ādityavarman, *s. a.* Pārthivēndra-varman, [15], 333, 334.
- Paruttikkudi, *vi.*, 292, 307, 312.
- Pārvatī, *goddess*, 168, 171n, 413, 476.
- Pāryāru, *s. a.* Pālāru, 233.
- paśān or paśānam, *see* piśān.
- Pāschātyagiri, *s. a.* Mēṇmalai, 389, 425.
- Paṣumburam, *vi.*, 168.
- Paśupatiśvara, *te.*, 30, 39.
- Paṭāraṇ-Chōla (Chōlai), *m.*, 443, 459, 462.
- Paṭṭaiyaṇār, *m.*, 364, 365.
- Paṭṭālam, *vi.*, 373, 374.
- Paṭṭanakki, *f.*, 318.
- Paṭṭana-nāḍu, *di.*, 360, 361.
- Paṭṭaṇ Paṇṇānābhaṇ Gōvindaṇ, *m.*, 284.
- Paṭṭaṇ Perṇān, *m.*, 159.
- Paṭṭaṇ Sikkāli, *m.*, 438.
- Pattargaṇāyaka-Pichchaṇ, *sur. of* Āḍavallān, 472, 473.
- Paṭṭasālin or Paṭṭasāliyaṇ, *a class of weavers*, 265, 268, 272.
- Paṭṭaya-Kramavittar, *m.*, 388.
- patti, *measure of land*, 21, 83, 91, 104n, 273, 274, 354.
- paṭṭigai, 262.
- Paṭṭiṇappālai, *Tamil work*, [2], [4]n, 418n.
- paṭṭiṇasēri, 391.
- Paṭṭiyaṇaṇ, *ch.*, 68.
- Paṭṭiyūr, *vi.*, 158.
- paṭṭōlai, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428, 429.
- paṭṭudaiyaṇ, *a priest*, 227.
- Paulōmī, *s. a.* Śāchi, 458.
- Pāvaiturāi, *channel*, 58.
- Pavanandi (Bhavanandin), *author of Nannūl*, 122.
- Pavittiramānikka, *road*, 154.
- Pavvattiri, *vi.*, 293, 308, 312.
- Pāvūr, *vi.*, 138n.
- Payalai, *vi.*, 292.
- Pāyṇaduttān, *stone*, 42.
- peṇḍāṭṭi, *a maid-servant*, 245, 383.
- Pennāgaḍam, *vi.*, 444, 446, 450, 461.
- Pennār, *vi.*, 448, 449.
- Pērānaṇ Vīraṇārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 231.
- Pēraraśūr, *vi.*, 293, 308, 312.
- Pērāvūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 427, 428, 438.
- Pērayaṇ Tribhuvanasundari, *f.*, 383.
- Periyakōṭṭai, *vi.*, 450.
- Periyakudaiyūr, *vi.*, 38.
- Periyalūr, *vi.*, 446, 448.
- Periya-Nāchehiyār, *s. a.* Vandārkuḷal-Nāchehiyār, 384.
- Periyapurāṇam, *Tamil work*, [2], [3], 33n, 165, 386, 418n.
- periyaputtēri, *tank*, 51.
- periya-śeṇḍu-vāyil, *the great hippodrome gate*, 15.
- Periyatirumoli, *portion of Nāḷāyiraprabandham*, 187, 447n.
- Perṇān Ādittān, *m.*, 5, 6.
- perumakkal, *great men*, 9n, 256.
- Perumāl, *a king*, 375.
- Perumāṇadigal, *god*, 3, 6, 232, 254, 256, 325, 330, 332, 334, 339, 348, 355, 360, 369.
- Perumāṇadigal or Śōla-Perumāṇadigal, *s. a.*
- Parāntaka I., [10], 228, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 241, 318n.
- Perumāṇ Ambalattādi, *m.*, 429, 437.
- Perumbākkam, *vi.*, 198, 199.
- Perumbāna-pādi, *di.*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 89, 108, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120.
- Perumbarrappuliyūr, *s. a.* Chidambaram, 151, 212, 214, 216.
- Perumbēr or Perumbērūr, *vi.*, 125, 173, 174, 177, 193, 202, 204.
- Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyaṇ I., *k.*, [7], 441n.
- Perumbidugu-Muttaraiyaṇ II., *k.*, 441n.
- Perumbuliyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 138.
- Perumpattāṇam, *vi.*, 360, 361.
- Perumūr, *vi.*, 391, 430.
- Perumūr-nāḍu or Nāḍuvilmalai (Nāḍuvimlai) Perumūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 390, 427, 428, 430, 432, 434, 436, 437.
- Pernallūr, *vi.*, 212.
- Perunalvadi, *road*, 57, 75.
- Perunat(nar)killi, *Chōla k.*, [3], [4], 356, 417.
- Perunāyagaṇ, *m.*, 232.
- Perundaram or Perundanam, *title*, 111, 230, 231, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 364, 365.
- Perundēvaṇār, *commentator*, 197.
- Peruṇḡākkūr, *vi.*, 462.
- Perun-Timiri-nāḍu, *di.*, 89.
- Pērūr, *vi.*, 31, 46, 51.
- Pērūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 31.
- peru-vari, *tax*, 168.
- Pichchaṇ Ambalakkūttān, *m.*, 118.
- Pichchaṇkōyil, *vi.*, 300, 307.
- Pichchipākkam, *vi.*, 438.
- Pidāri, *s. a.* Bhaṭṭārikā, 9, 11, 136, 138, 226n, 319, 479.
- pidi, *grain and liquid measure*, 286, 383.
- Piḍiligai, 310, 436.
- Pikira, *vi.*, [6].
- pilavu, 266, 274.
- Pilivalai, *Nāga prince's*, [3].
- pillai or pillaiyār, *a prince*, 234, 236, 237, 246, 247, 248, 268.
- pillaigolli, *channel*, 171.
- Pillaiyālayam, *quarter*, 268.
- Pillaiyār, *s. a.* Gaṇapati, 322, 470, 471.
- Pippirai, *vi.*, 177.
- Piradigaṇḍaṇ, *sur. of* Maḷavaraiyaṇ Sundarāśōlaṇ 476, 477.
- Piramadēvaṇ (Brahmadēva), *ch.*, 68.
- Pirāndūr, *vi.*, 71.
- Pirāntakaṇ Iruṇḡōla, *sur. of* Śrīyavēlār, 255, 256, 257.
- Pirāntakaṇ-Mādēvaḍigalār, *see* Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār-Mādēvaḍigalār.
- pirāy, *tree*, 431.
- Pirayapākkam, *vi.*, 134.
- piśān, piśānam, paśān or paśānam, *harvest*, 171, 229, 308.
- Pitāmaha, *s. a.* Brahmā, 458.
- Piṭhāpuram, *vi.*, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 156n, 178, 179, 180, 181.
- Pōḍimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 475.
- Podiyil or Podiyam, *mo.*, 130, 144, 147, 168n, 464n.
- Polikkāvadi, *land*, 105, 106.
- Pōlipākkam, *vi.*, 391, 435.
- poliyāṭṭu, 236, 272.

poṇ, *gold coin or money*, 228, 273, 332, 357, 363, 374.
 pōṇagam, *sumptuary allowance*, 221, 316.
 Poṇmalai-Śiva, *m.*, 253.
 poṇ-māligai, *the dancing hall of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram*, 288.
 poṇ-māligai, *a golden hall*, 288, 291.
 Poṇmāligaittuṇṇiṇadēva, *s. a.* Sundara-Chōla, [14], [15], 255, 288, 476.
 Poṇṇai, *vi.*, 23.
 Poṇṇāli Arubattiruvan, *m.*, 29.
 Poṇṇambalam, *s. a.* Kanakasabhā, 185n.
 Poṇṇēri, *vi.*, 237.
 Poṇṇi, *s. a.* Kāvēri, 142, 146, 176, 444, 450, 461.
 Poṇṇadukuttam, *vi.*, 96, 97.
 Poṇṇarri, *s. a.* Poṇṇetti, 197.
 Poṇṇetti, *vi.*, 197.
 Poṇṇamalli, *vi.*, 448.
 porikkari, 317, 382.
 Porikōvil-Nambi, *sur. of* Eḍuttapādam Inburri-rundān, 158.
 Porrikkuri Brahmapriyaṇ, *m.*, 20.
 Porrikkuri Kālidēvadi, *m.*, 17.
 Poruṇṇunram, *vi.*, 85.
 pottagam, *tax-register*, 81n, 300.
 Pottappi, *vi.*, 33, 37.
 Pottappi or Pottappi-nāḍu, *di.*, 33n, 193.
 Paṭṭaya-Kramavittar, *m.*, 338.
 Pottayaṇ, *ch.*, 37 and *add.*
 Poygai, *vi.*, 208.
 Poygai-nāḍu, *di.*, 186, 249, 250.
 Poygaipākkam, *vi.*, 118.
 Poygaiṇār, *Tamil poet*, [2], [3].
 Poygaiṇāṭṭar, *Vaiṣṇava saint*, 186, 189.
 Poyyir-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 243.
 Prabhākara or Prabhākaraḡuru, *author*, 376.
 Prabhākaram, *work*, 377.
 pramāṇa, *a document*, 155.
 praśasti, 271, 384, 418n, 439, 443, 459.
 prastha, 265, 266, 268, 272.
 Pratipati (Prithivīpati)-Araiyar, *s. a.* Prithivīpati I., *ch.*, 98, 99, 100, 101.
 Prithivīpati I., *W. Gaṅga k.*, [8], 88, 99, 100, 449.
 Prithivīpati II., *Gaṅga-Bāṇa k.*, [4]n, [9], [10], [12], 26n, 92.
 Prithivīvyāghra, *Niśāda ch.*, 243.
 Prithu, *mythical k.*, [4], 385, 414.
 Prithulāksha, *mythical solar k.*, [4], 385, 415.
 Prithivīśvara, *Velanāḍu ch.*, 180.
 Ptolemy, [1], 31.
 pū, *a crop*, 227, 229.
 pudānāli, *pidānāli or pitānāli*, *tax*, 311, 391, 436.
 Pudānkōḍu, *vi.*, 446.
 Pūḍattālvār, *Vaiṣṇava saint*, 186, 189.
 pudavai, 212n, 273, 306.
 Pūdi or Maṇavaṇ Pūḍiyār, *m.*, 262.
 Pūdi Ādiccheha (Āditta)-piḍāriyār, *Chōla queen*, 228, 229, 257, 262, 263.
 Pūḍipākkamseruvu, *land*, 368.
 Pūdi Parāntakaṇ, *s. a.* Parāntakavarman, 285.
 Pūdi Tiruvorriyūr-Adigaḷ, *m.*, 438.
 Pūdukkūdi, *vi.*, 171.
 Pūdukkulam, *tank*, 477, 479.
 pūdukkuppuram, 224, 320.
 Pūduppākkam, *vi.*, 289, 292, 293.
 Pūḍuvēli-gōpuram, *Buddhist temple*, [2].
 Pūḍuvār, *vi.*, 281, 282.

Pugaḷchōla-Nāyanār, *Saiva saint*, [3].
 Pugaḷiyūr, *vi.*, 446.
 pugaḷ mādu vilāṅga, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 126, 172.
 pugaḷ-sūḷṇda puṇari, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 125, 174.
 Pugaḷvippiragaṇḍaṇ Avanivallāṇ, *sur. of* Iruṇ-gōḷakkōṇ, 376.
 Puḷal or Poḷal, *vi.*, 76n, 133.
 Puḷal (or Puḷar)-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 76, 117, 132, 134, 239, 287, 351, 358, 373.
 Puḷalērikil-nāḍu, *di.*, 239.
 Puḷal-nāḍu, *di.*, 132, 133, 134.
 Puḷāṅguḍi, *vi.*, 117 and *add.*
 Puḷidikkāḷṇettūr, *vi.*, 364.
 Puḷikēsin, *ch.*, 58, 63.
 Puḷikēsin, II, *W. Chaluḡya k.*, 49.
 Puḷikkunram, *vi.*, 25, 26.
 puḷiṅgaṇ, 317, 382.
 Puḷivalam (or vala)vāy, *channel*, 326.
 Puḷiyambūṇḍi-uḍaiyāṇ, *m.*, 216.
 Pūliyaṇ, *s. a.* Pāṇḍya, 446, 460.
 Puḷiyaṅguḍi, *vi.*, 344.
 Puḷiyaṇ-jeruvu, *land*, 18.
 Puḷiyaśivaṇ, *m.*, 346.
 Puḷiyūr, *vi.*, 49n, 133, 446.
 Puḷiyūr-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 49, 86, 88, 118, 133, 134, 251, 253, 358, 368, 429, 437, 438.
 Puḷiyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 39, 438.
 Pullamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 444, 450, 462.
 pullandi, *tree*, 435.
 pulli, 50, 222n, 233n, 237n, 243n, 259n, 263n, 323, 370n, 382n, 476n.
 puḷukku, *boiled curry*, 317.
 Puḷvāyppāppāṇ-Kuḷattūr, *vi.*, 75, 77.
 pū-mādu-puṇara, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla*, 178, 180, 181.
 pū-mālai-miḍaiṇḍu, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vikrama-Chōla*, 178, 181, 186.
 pū-maruviya tirumāḍumu, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Rājaraḡa II.*, 207.
 pū-mēl arivaiyum, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 125.
 Puṇappūliyaṇ, *title of* Parāntaka Neduṇḡaiyaṇ, 446.
 Pūṇāru-aṇai, *dam*, 477, 479.
 Pūṇḍanmalai, *s. a.* Poonamalli, 448.
 Puṇḍavattanam, (Puṇḍravardhana), *vi.*, 190.
 Pūṇḍi, *vi.*, 39.
 Pūṅguḍi, *vi.*, 307, 309, 310, 319, 320, 321.
 Puṇṇai Śiṅgaṇ, (Śiṃha), *m.*, 28.
 puṇṇai, *tree*, 151.
 Puṇṇam, *vi.*, 31, 45, 46.
 puṇyāha, *ceremony*, 189, 299.
 Pura, *a demon*, 237.
 Puṇakkiliyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 117, 438.
 puṇam, 6n, 20n, 73n, 212n.
 Puraṇ Ādittadēvaṇār, *m.*, 117.
 Puraṇagrāma, *s. a.* Palaiyūra, 389, 425.
 Puraṇāṇūru, *Tamil work*, 24n.
 Puraṇas, [2], 413n, 415n, 417n.
 Puraṇic, [2], [4], 444.
 Puraṅgarambai-nāḍu, *di.*, 241, 295, 465, 469, 470, 471, 473.
 Puraṇjaya, *mythical k.*, 384, 413, 414n.
 puraṇkāval, 445, 465.
 Purāntaka, *s. a.* Siva, 419.

- Purāri, *s.a.* Śiva, 419.
 Puravaḍukollai, *land*, 97.
 puravari (*or* puravuvuri) tinaikkalam, *office*, 117, 390, 428.
 Puravaritinaikkalattu-kūru, *office*, 117.
 Puravaritinaikkala - nāyagam, *office*, 162.
 puravu, *tax*, 289, 291, 292, 293, 391, 465n.
 puravuvuri, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 307, 308, 312.
 Puravuvuritinaikkalattu-Mugavetti, *office*, 139, 163.
 Puravuvuri-Vinnagar *or* Puravuvuri-Vinnagar-
 Ālvār, *s.a.* Rājagōpāla-Perumāl, 49, 74.
 Purisai-nāḍu, *di.*, 136, 292, 293, 438.
 Pūru, *mythical k.*, 416n, 417n.
 Purukutsa, *mythical k.*, 415n.
 Purūravas, *mythical k.*, 446.
 Purushasūktā, *hymn*, 377n.
 Purushōttama, *m.*, 392, 439.
 Purushōttama, *s.a.* Vishnu, 439, 445, 464.
 Purushōttama-Bhattachan, *m.*, 82.
 pūrvāchāram, 326, 327, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 347, 348, 355, 360, 361, 368, 370, 371.
 Pūrvārāja, 446.
 Pūrvāsiyan, *sur. of* Āḍavallān, 472, 473.
 Pūsalānkudaiyār, *m.*, 261.
 Pushpaka, *elephant*, 33, 37.
 Pushpitāgra, *metre*, 450.
 puttakkam, *s.a.* akkam, 239, 241.
 Puttēri, *tank*, 51.
 Pūttōṇḍan, *m.*, 309, 310.
 Puttūr, *s.a.* Tirupputtūr, 443, 444, 450, 458, 462.
 Pūvalūr, *vi.*, 446.
 Puvanamuḷududaiyāl, *queen of* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., 119.
 Puvanīmānikka (Bhuvanamānikya)-Vishnugriham, *te.*, 1, 3, 6, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21.
 Pūvāṇiyam, *vi.*, 45, 46.
 puyal, *introductory words of the inscriptions of* Kulōttuṅga III., 204.

R

- Rāghavadēva, *m.*, 5 & add.
 Rāghavas, *descendants of* Raghu, 421.
 Rāghava, *s.a.* Rāma, 421.
 Raghu, *mythical k.*, 425n.
 Raghuvamśa, *Sanskrit work*, 425n.
 Rājachūlāmani (*or* Rājāsūlāmani)-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam, *sur. of* Maṇimaṅgalam, 49, 57, 63, 70.
 Rājādhirāja I. *or* Udaiyār Śrī-Rāyādhirājadēva, *Chōla k.*, [16], [20], 1, 32, 38, 49, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 59, 62n, 106, 112n, 130n, 192, 194n, 195, 196, 469, 470.
 Rājādhirāja, *sur. of* Ālavandān, 36n.
 Rājādhirāja II, *Chōla k.*, 206, 207, 384, 465n.
 Rājādhirājarāja, *sur. of* Virarājendra I., 65, 70.
 Rājādhirāja-valanādu, *di.*, 214, 216.
 Rājādiehchi, *f.*, 6, 258, 259.
 Rājādittapuram, *sur. of* Tirunāvalūr, 198, 199.
 Rājāditya, *Chōla prince*, [8], [12], [13], [14], [16], 196, 234, 238, 248, 250, 278, 377, 386, 419.
 Rājādityan, *m.*, 312.
 Rājagōpāla-perumāl, *te.*, 31, 49, 151n.
 Rājakēsari, *grain and liquid measure*, 27, 29, 117, 139, 171.

- Rājakēsari-Muvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Śāttan Guṇa-battan, 297.
 Rājakēsarin *or* Rājakēsarivarman, *mythical Chōla k.*, 385, 416.
 Rājakēsarinallūr, *vi.*, 118.
 Rājakēsarinallūr-kilavaṇ, *sur. of* Kāpūvil Eḷattapādām, 14, 15.
 Rājakēsarippēraraiyan, *sur. of* Pallavappēraraiyan, 254.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *Chōla k.*, 1, 20, 21.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *Chōla title*, [16].
 Rājakēsarivarman *or* Rājakēsarin, *sur. of* Āḍitya I., [8], 2, 3, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 235, 449.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Gandarāditya, [14], 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254, 263, 289.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga I., 71, 72, 118, 119, 127, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 140, 142, 148, 151, 154, 158, 162, 164, 171, 173, 176, 192.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājādhirāja I., 51, 57, 59, 469, 470.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājādhirāja II., 206, 207.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājamahēndra, 113, 114, 190, 191, 192.
 Rājakēsarivarman, Rājārājakēsarivarman *or* Rājārāja-Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājārāja I., [16]n, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15, 24, 25, 26, 29, 30, 49, 50, 51, 101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 476, 477, 479, 480.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *sur. of* Rājārāja II., 207.
 Rājakēsarivarman, (*sic.*) *sur. of* Rājēndradēva, 192n.
 Rājakēsarivarman *or* Rājakēsarin, *sur. of* Parāntaka II., [14], [16], 255, 256, 258, 259.
 Rājakēsarivarman, *or* Rājakēsarivarman-Perumānāḍigal, *sur. of* Virarājendra I., 31, 32, 38, 64, 70, 190, 192, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203.
 Rājamahēndra *or* Rājamahēndradēva, *Chōla k.*, 89, 113, 114, 190, 191, 192, 195n, 196, 204n.
 Rājamahēndran-vadi, *street*, 41, 113, 192.
 Rājamalla-Muttaraiyan, *ch.*, [17].
 Rājāmārāyar, *s.a.* Parthivēndravarmān, 362, 363.
 Rājāmārtāṇḍa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 366, 367.
 Rājamayan, *ch.*, 69.
 Rājanārāyaṇa, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I., 130.
 Rājanārāyaṇa-Muvēndavēlār, *ch.*, 213.
 Rājanārāyaṇa-Muvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Araiyan Kudittāṅgi, 163.
 Rājanārāyaṇa-Muvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Nāganārāyaṇan, 118.
 rājapradēya, *tax*, 256n.
 Rājapura, *vi.*, [19], 466.
 Rājārāja I. *or* Rājārājadēva, *Chōla k.*, [2], [4], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [21], [22], 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 41, 45, 52, 62n, 89, 90, 93, 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109n, 126, 127, 130n, 136, 148, 159n, 162n, 164n, 192, 195, 196, 229, 235, 239n, 251, 255, 260, 263, 265, 267, 276, 279, 284, 288n, 365n, 379, 383, 387, 388, 422, 424, 476, 477.
 Rājārāja II. *or* Rājārājadēva, *Chōla k.*, 49, 79, 81, 191, 196, 207, 466n, 472, 473.
 Rājārāja III, Rājārājadēva III. *or* Rājārājadēva, *Chōla k.*, 43, 49, 79, 85, 86, 87, 88, 121, 123, 204, 208.

- Rājarāja I., *E. Chālukya k.*, [21], 127, 128, 196, 435n.
 Rājarāja II., *E. Chālukya k.*, 128, 131
 Rājarāja, *E. Gaṅga k.*, 128.
 Rājarāja, *k.*, 387, 421.
 Rājarāja or Rājādhirāja, *sur. of Ālavandān*, 33, 36, 194.
 Rājarāja-Brahmādirāyaṇ, *sur. of Uttama-Śōlan*, 38, 39, 41.
 Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam, *di*, 429, 437.
 Rājarājadēvaṇ, *well of*, 8.
 Rājarāja-Kramavittan, *m.*, 190.
 Rājarāja-maṇḍalam, *sur. of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu*, 159n.
 Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēlān, *sur. of Udayadivākaran Tillaiyāli, m.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Rājarājan, *ch.*, 41, 43, 163.
 Rājarājan-kāsu, *coin*, [22].
 Rājarājan Parānripārākshasan, *ch.*, 117, 134.
 Rājarājan-Ulā, *poem*, 196n.
 Rājarāja-Pāṇḍikula-valanāḍu, *di.*, 39.
 Rājarāja Pāṇḍi-nāḍu, *ai*, 159, 162.
 Rājarājapuram, *vi.*, 164, 168.
 Rājarāja Śōliyavaraiyar, *sur. of Śankaran Kaṇḍa-rādittan*, 114.
 Rājarāja valanāḍu, *di.*, 209, 210, 212, 214, 216, 428, 429, 438.
 Rājarāja-valanāḍu, *sur. of Pāṇḍi-nāḍu*, 15.
 Rājarājendra Mūvēndavēlār, *sur. of Pūran Ādittadēvaṇār*, 117.
 Rājarājēśvara, *s. a. Brihadiśvara*, [19].
 Rājarājēśvara or Rājarājēśvaramuḍaiyār, *s. a. Nakulēśvara*, 90, 109, 111.
 Rājasikhāmaṇi-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur. of Sōmaṅgalam*, 140.
 Rājasimha I., *Pāṇḍya k.*, 446, 447, 448.
 Rājasimha II., *Pāṇḍya k.*, 442, 443, 446, 447, 448, 457, 459.
 Rājasimha III., Rājasimhavarman or Rājasimha-Pāṇḍya, *Pāṇḍya k.*, [10], [12], 231, 441, 443, 444, 446, 449, 458, 461, 462, 463.
 Rājasimhakulakkīl or Rājasīṅgapperuṅgulakkīl, *s. a. Rājasīṅgamaṅgalam*, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Rājasimhavarman, *Pallava k.*, 2n.
 Rājasimhēśvara, *te.*, 268n.
 Rājasīṅgamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 450.
 Rājāśraya, *sur. of Rājarāja I.*, 164n, 195, 388.
 Rājāśraya, *sur. of Vīrarājendra I.*, 195, 199.
 Rājāśraya, *street of*, 164.
 Rājāśrayapuram, *sur. of Mēlpāḍi*, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 391, 431.
 Rājasundara-valanāḍu, *di.*, 163.
 Rājasundarī, *queen of the E. Gaṅga king Rājarāja*, 128n.
 Rājasūrya-Brahmamārāyaṇ, *sur. of Vāchchiyan Mahēśvaraṇ, Tirāṇḍavān Kuraṅgaṇ*, 216.
 Rājasūrya, *sacrifice*, 416n, 442, 457.
 Rājavallabha-Pallavarāyar, *m.*, 213.
 Rājaviṅḍayābarāṇaṇ, *m.*, 293.
 Rājendra-bhaṭṭar, *m.*, 39.
 Rājendra (or Uḍaiyār śrī-Rājendra)-Chōla (or Śōladēva) I., *Chōla k.*, [4], [17], [18], [19], [20], [21], [22], 1, 14, 15, 16, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33n, 41, 45, 52, 62n, 69n, 89, 90, 107, 108, 109, 111, 126, 127, 128n, 131, 132, 136, 159, 162, 192, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 210n, 265, 304n, 378, 383, 384, 388, 389, 390, 423, 424, 425, 429, 435n, 465, 466, 468.
 Rājendra, *sur. of Parāntaka II.*, [13].
 Rājendra-Chōladēva, *s. a. Rājendradēva*, 192n.
 Rājendra-Chōla II., (Chōladēva or Chōda II) or Rājiga, *sur. of Kulōttuṅga Chōla I.*, 127, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135, 138, 139, 140, 159, 172, 173, 179, 196, 197.
 Rājendra, Rājendradēva or Vijayarājendradēva, *Chōlak.*, [2], 30, 31, 32, 39, 41, 49, 52, 53, 58, 59, 63, 65, 89, 111, 112, 113, 131, 156, 190, 191, 192, 195, 196.
 Rājendra-Chōla-pērēri, *tank*, 114.
 Rājendrasimha (siṅga)-valanāḍu, *di.*, 162n, 427, 428, 429, 438.
 Rājendrasōla-Anukkappallavaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Tattan Śēṇḍan*, 427, 429, 438.
 Rājendra-Chōla(Śōla)-Brahmamahārāja (Brahmamārāyaṇ), *sur. of Kṛishṇan Rāmaṇ*, 14, 427, 428.
 Rājendra-Śōla, *channel of*, 154.
 Rājendrasōla Brahmadhirājaṇ, *sur. of Narākkan Mārāyaṇ Jananāthan*, 389, 427, 428, 438.
 Rājendrasōladēva, *sic. Rājendradēva*, 42.
 Rājendra-Śōla-Īśvara, *s. a. Chōlēśvara*, 159, 162.
 Rājendra-Śōlaṇ, *hall of*, 162.
 Rājendra-Śōlaṇ Chōla prince, 62.
 Rājendra-Śōlanallūr, *sur. of Āṇḍāyakkuḍi*, 159, 162.
 Rājendrasōlaṇ-kāsu, *coin*, [22].
 Rājendrasōlappāḍi, *vi.*, 135, 136.
 Rājendra-Śōla(or Chōla)-valanāḍu, *di.*, 73, 76, 118, 198, 199, 200, 470, 471, 473.
 Rājiga, *see Rājendra-Chōla II.*
 Rāma, *saint*, 58n, 62n, 421, 444.
 Rāma, *ch.*, 389, 425.
 Rāma, *s. a. Paraśurāma*, 388, 422.
 Rāmabhaṭṭa, *m.*, 308.
 Rāmanātha, *Hoysala k.*, 122n.
 Rāmañña, *the Talaing country of Burma*, 195.
 Rāmāyaṇa, *Epic*, 444n.
 Rāmēśvaram, *island*, 70.
 Ramnad, *vi.*, 301n.
 Raṇajaya *Pallava title*, 268n.
 Raṇajayappāḍi, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275.
 Raṇasīṅgavīra, *hall of*, 367.
 Raṇastipūṇḍi, *vi.*, 126n.
 Raṇasūra, *k.*, [19], 388, 424, 469.
 Raṇavikrama-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur. of Vanni-pēḍu*, 96.
 Raṇavīrappāḍi, *vi.*, 336, 347, 348, 349, 359, 360.
 Raṅga, *m.*, 392, 439.
 Raṅganātha or Śrīraṅganātha, *te.*, 148, 217, 219.
 Raṅganāyaka, *te.*, 33n, 43.
 Rānīpēt, *vi.*, 95.
 Rāṇḍaya, *elephant*, 461n.
 rāshtra, *a division*, 459.
 Rāshtrakūṭa, *dy.*, [6], [12], [13], [14], 1, 11, 22, 90, 92, 99, 278, 386.
 Ratnāgrahāra or Ratnagrāma, *s. a. Maṇimaṅgalam*, 49, 50, 51, 87.
 Raṭṭarāja, *s. a. Jayasimha II.*, 424.
 Raṭṭapāḍi, Irattappāḍi, Ilattapāḍi, Raṭṭamandalam or Irattamandalam, *seven and a half lakhs, co.*, [18], 8, 15, 24, 28, 40, 58, 62n, 63, 64, 65, 69, 111, 112, 193, 194, 195, 203, 388n, 468.
 Raṭṭa or Raṭṭarāshtra, *co.*, 195, 204, 388, 422n, 423, 424.

Ravana, *demon*, 421, 442, 444, 457.
 Ravi, *Chēra k.*, 221n.
 Ravi Nīli, *see* Nīli.
 Ravivarman, *Kēraḷa k.*, 186.
 Rāyakōṭa, *vi.*, [6].
 Rēvarasa, *Haiḥaya k.*, 59.
 Rishabhadatta, *m.*, 15n.
 Rishabhavāhana, *image of*, 168, 171.
 Rishabhavāhana-vāykkal, *channel*, 277.
 Rōhana, *co.*, [11].
 Rudra, *god*, 385, 415, 475.
 Rudra-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 113.
 Rudrajit, *sur. of* Satyavrata, 385, 415.
 Rudra-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 70.
 Rukmiṇi, *goddess*, 278, 279.

S

Sabhai, *sabhā or mahāsabhā, a village assembly*, 2, 17n, 168, 176n, 342, 358, 363, 364.
 Sabhaikūṭṭuvān, *field*, 260.
 Sachī, *goddess*, 460.
 Śadainakkaśarman, *m.*, 11.
 Śadaiyaṇ, *m.*, 8, 9, 13.
 Śadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra, *Pāṇḍiya k.*, 446, 447.
 Sadayapirāṇ - Bhaṭṭasōmayāji, *m.*, 444, 462.
 Sadāśivarāya, *Vijayanagara k.*, 118n.
 śadiram, *a square*, 177n, 249, 280, 281.
 Sadras, *vi.*, 143.
 śadukkam, 247, 249, 256, 257, 300, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 332, 333, 334, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 353, 355, 360, 369, 370, 371.
 Śadura-kūṭi, 332n.
 Sagara, *mythical k.*, 92.
 Sāhanai (or Sāgaṇai), *vi.*, 77, 78, 79, 81.
 Sāhanai Bhaṭṭaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 81.
 Sahya, *s. a. the Western Ghats*, [8], 144, 147n, 423.
 Śaibya, *race*, 416n.
 Saidapet, *vi.*, 73n.
 Śailēndravamśa, *family*, [21].
 Śaiva, [2], [3], [8], [13], [20], [21], 210, 223, 267, 268, 275n, 296, 382.
 Śaivism [3], [4].
 Saiyam, *s. a. Sahya*, 147.
 Sakalabhuvanāśraya, *title of* Vīrarājendra I., 195, 198.
 Sakalārthasāgara, *Telugu work*, 376.
 Śakkaikāttu, *dunce*, 378.
 Śakkara (Chakra or Chakkara)-kōṭṭam, (or kōṭṭa), *s. a. Chitrakūṭa (or kōṭa)*, [19], 65, 70, 128, 132, 134, 135n, 140, 142, 146, 175, 193, 194, 202, 466, 468.
 Sakkaranallūr, *vi.*, 391, 432, 433.
 Sakkaśēnāpati, *m.*, [11].
 Śakra, *s. a. Indra*, 425, 459.
 Śakuntalā, *wife of* Dushyanta, 416n.
 sālā, or sālai, *a feeding house*, 233, 307, 308, 312.
 sālābhōga 308, 309, 311, 377.
 Śalai or Kāṇḍalūr-Śalai, *vi.*, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 24, 30, 52, 56, 105, 107, 130, 469, 470.
 Śalikanātha, *teacher*, 376.
 Sālīni, *metre*, 450.
 Sālīya, *the weaver class*, 268.

Śaḷukki, *s. a. Chalukya*, 57, 58, 63, 65, 68, 69, 161n, 203, 204.
 Śāmanta or Mahāsāmanta, *a feudatory chief*, [22], 20, 21, 37, 202.
 Samarābhirāma, *Koḍumbālūr ch.*, [15], 257.
 Śambāhu, *s. a. Śiva*, 418.
 Saṃgama I., *Vijayanagara k.*, 8.
 Saṃgama II., *Vijayanagara k.*, 207n.
 Saṃgrāmaṇijayōttuṅgavarman, *Kaṭṭan, a. k.*, [20], 469.
 Śaṃkara or Śaṅkara, *s. a. Śiva*, 185n, 425.
 Śaṃkaradēva, *see* Tiruvaiyaṇ Śaṃkaradēva.
 Śaṃkara-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 111.
 Śaṃkaranārāyaṇa-vadi, *road*, 5.
 Śaṃkaranārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 168.
 Śaṃkaraṇ Kāṇḍarādittaṇār, *ch.*, 114.
 Saṃkrānti, 273, 279, 299.
 Śaṃkrānti Uttarāyaṇa, 267, 275.
 Śaṃkrīti, or Śāṅkrīti, *mythical k.*, 385, 416n.
 Śaṃkshēpaśārīraka, *work*, [9].
 Śāmunḍaṇ Mūrti, *m.*, 234.
 Samvatsaravāriyam, *annual supervision*, 19, 327, 329.
 Samvatsaravāriya-Perumakkal, *Committee of*, 9, 17.
 sān, *a span*, 17, 288.
 Saṇakkāl, *field*, 309, 310.
 Śāṇāṇ, *caste*, 268.
 saṇḍai, *a musical instrument*, 319.
 Śāṇḍamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 155.
 Śāṇḍikuṇḍil, *field*, 287.
 Śāṇḍimat or Śāṇḍimattīru, *island*, [19], 23, 468.
 Śāṇḍi Pālāsiraiyaṇ Vīranārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 155.
 Śāṇḍirāchecha, *m.*, 6 and *add.*
 Śāṇḍirāchecha-Kramar, *m.*, 6.
 Śāṇḍiraṇ Aruṇūrruvaṇ, *m.*, 332.
 Śāṇḍiraṇ or Śāṇḍiraṇ Eluṇūrruvaṇ, *m.*, 326, 327, 333, 334, 336, 337, 339, 342, 346, 347, 348, 349, 355, 359, 360.
 Śāṇḍiraṇ Viṣṇubhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 300.
 San-fo-tsai, *s. a. Palambang*, [21], 466.
 Saṅgam, *the Tamil academy*, [2], 441, 443, 445, 460.
 Saṅgamayaṇ, *ch.*, 52, 56.
 Saṅgappāḍikilāṇ, *m.*, 291, 292, 293.
 Saṅgappai, *queen*, 59, 63.
 Saṅgili-Kanadarāva, *vi.*, 39.
 Saṅgrāmarāghava, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [10], 231.
 Śaṇi-maṇḍapa, 426.
 Śaṅkara, *m.*, 389, 426.
 Śaṅkarāchārya, *Advaita teacher*, [9].
 Śaṅkaramaṅgai, *vi.*, 443, 446, 447, 448, 450, 460.
 Śaṅkarappāḍi, *Saiva quarter*, 30, 135, 136, 267, 275.
 Śaṅkha, *the conch*, 420.
 Śannamaṇḍai-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 247.
 Saptamātrīs, 367, 368.
 Śāra-nāḍu, *di.*, 438.
 Sarasvatī, *goddess*, 413.
 Sarasvatī-vāykkal, *channel*, 349, 370.
 Śāradūlavikrīḍita, *metre*, 450.
 Śarkuṇi Tiruvaḍigal, *m.*, 327.
 Sarva, *s. a. Śiva*, 420.

Sarvādittan, *m.*, 168.
 sarvajñātman, *author*, [9].
 Śāsabindu, *mythical k.*, 415n.
 Śāsāda, *sur. of Vikukshi*, 413n.
 Śāsikula-Chālukki, *title*, 208.
 Śāstā, (Śāttan) or Mahāśāstā, *s. a.* Aiyānār, 9, 11, 137, 343, 344.
 Śāstrās, 446, 457.
 Satakratu, *s. a.* Indra, 458.
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 416n.
 Śatapattūr, *vi.*, 237.
 Śathagōpa, *s. a.* Nammālvār, 2, 148, 151n, 186.
 sati, [15], [21], 420n.
 Śatrubhayaṃkara, *elephant*, 63.
 Śatta-gaṇattar, *assembly of*, 10.
 Śattamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 141, 143.
 Śāttan, *see* Śāstā.
 Śāttan Brahmakuttiṇ, *m.*, 344.
 Śāttanṅudi, *vi.*, 210, 212.
 Śāttan Guṇabattan, *m.*, 297.
 Śāttanūr, *vi.*, 293.
 Śatti, *king of the Kādavas*, 185n.
 Śattikumāra-Kramavittan, *m.*, 4.
 Sattiyanaṇ, *ch.*, 68.
 Sattiyavai, *queen*, 59, 63.
 saṭṭuvam, *a ladle*, 241.
 Satyāśraya, *W. Chalukya k.*, [17], 387, 421.
 Satyavrata, *mythical solar k.*, 385, 415.
 Saundararāja Perumāl, *te.*, 139.
 Śaurāśṭraka, 385n, 388, 422.
 Śāvāndi Nārāṇa (Nārāyaṇa), *m.*, 155.
 Śāvāndi Nārāyaṇa Māraṇ, *m.*, 155.
 Śedirūr, *vi.*, 3.
 śēgaṇḍigai, *a musical instrument*, 273, 319.
 Śēliya, Śēliṇa or Śēliṇa, *s.a.* Pāṇḍya, 8, 11, 15, 24, 29, 30, 105, 107, 185.
 Śēliyaṅkudi, *vi.*, 446.
 Śēliyaṇ Vāṇavaṇ Sēndaṇ, *s. a.* Jayantavarman, 446, 447.
 Śelvaṇ Kuḷaiṇāṇ, *m.*, 168.
 Śelvaṇ Paḷumaḍaiyaṇ, *m.*, 148.
 Sembākkam, *vi.*, 293, 438.
 Śembaṇ Aruḷaṇ Uttamagīti, *m.*, 308.
 Śembarambākkam, *vi.*, 118n.
 Śembiyaṇ, *s. a.* Chōḷa, 167, 416n.
 sembiyaṇ, *m.*, 312.
 Śembiyaṇ, *title of Śadaiyaṇ Ranadhīra*, 446.
 sembiyaṇ, *title of Parāntaka Neduñjadaiyaṇ*, 446.
 Śembiyaṇmādevi, *flower-garden of*, 310, 321, 322.
 sembiyaṇ Irukkuvēl, *sur. of Pūdi Parāntakaṇ*, 285.
 Śembiyaṇmādeviyār (Mādevaḍigalār) or Udaiya-pirāṭṭiyār Śembiyaṇmādeviyār, *queen of Gandarāditya*, [13], 286, 287, 288, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 300, 301, 306, 307, 318.
 Śembiyaṇ Mārāyaṇ, *sur. of Pērāṇaṇ Vīranārāyaṇaṇ*, 230, 231.
 Śembiyaṇ-Pallavaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Kaṇḍanīraṇḍāṇ*, 117.
 Śembiyaṇ Paṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ, *sur. of Kēsavaṇ Rāmaṇ*, 254.

Śembiyaṇ Sōliyavaraiyaṇ, *m.*, [12].
 Śembiyaṇ Sōliyavaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Māraṇ Paramē-svaraṇ*, 242, 243.
 Śembiyaṇ Tamiḷavēl, *sur. of Vikki-Anṇaṇ*, 221.
 Sembiyaṇ Uttaramantri, *m.*, 293, 307, 308.
 Śembiyaṇ Vāḍapuraiyūr-nāṭṭu-Mūvēndavēḷār, *m.*, 286.
 semmanatti, *tree*, 433n.
 semmanichechai, *tree*, 433, 434.
 Sēna, *Ceylon k.*, 449n.
 Sēnai, *m.*, 21, 22.
 Sēnāpati, *a general*, 39, 59, 64, 65, 70, 114, 117, 134.
 sēnbagam, *tree*, 392, 437.
 Semmarambākkam, *s. a.* Śembarambākkam, 118.
 Sēndalai *vi.*, [7], 441n.
 Sēndaṇ = Jayantavarman, 447.
 Sēndaṇ Arakkudi, *m.*, 308.
 Sēndaṇ.....diyappaṇ, *m.*, 237.
 Sēndapirāṇbhaṭṭaṇ or Bhāradvāja-Nārāyaṇaṇ Sēndapirāṇ-bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 429, 437.
 Sēndaraippottaṇ, *m.*, 274.
 Sēngāḍu, *vi.*, 49n.
 Sēngama, *vi.*, 208.
 Sēngāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 49, 51, 57, 63, 70, 118, 139, 140.
 Sēngēni, *family*, 89, 121, 123.
 Sēngēni Ammaiyyappaṇ or Sēngēni Ammaiypaṇ Kaṇṇuḍaipperumāṇ, *ch.*, 122, 208.
 Sēngēni Miṇḍaṇ Attimallaṇ Śambuvarāyaṇ, *ch.*, 120, 121, 208.
 Sēngōḍai, *land*, 319, 320.
 Sēngōḍu, *vi.*, 446.
 Sēngudi, *vi.*, 460.
 Sēngunra-nāḍu, *di.*, 118, 119, 199, 200.
 Sēngunnam, *vi.*, 119.
 Sēngutṭuvaṇ, *Chēra k.*, 444.
 Sēñji or Ginge, *vi.*, 68n.
 Sēñjiyār-terri, *hedge*, 434.
 Sēṇṇaḍai, *te.*, 229, 285.
 Sēṇṇi, *s.a.* Chōḷa, 156, 293.
 Sēṇṇilam, *vi.*, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 Sēṇṇi-Pēraraiaṇ, *see* Tīraṇ Sēṇṇi-Pēraraiaṇ.
 Sēṇṇirvetṭi, *tax*, 300.
 Sēṇṇi-yēri-paḍai, *the warlike army of Sēṇṇi*, 293.
 Sēṇṇi-yēri-paḍai-chōḷaṇ - Uttamaśōḷaṇ, *ch.*, 293, 294.
 Śērāla, *s.a.* Chēra, 185, 203, 218.
 Śēramāṇ, *the Chēra king*, 222.
 Śēramāṇlōka-pperuñjetṭi, *explained*, 142n.
 śēri or cheri, *a hamlet*, 174, 212, 268, 272, 273, 275.
 Śērkuṇi Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgala-uttamaṇ, *see* Terkuṇi, etc.
 Śērrūr-kūrram, *di.*, 222.
 sēru or sēruvu, *land*, 274, 288, 322.
 Sērupōsaṇ Eluvaṇ, *m.*, 364.
 sērvai, *field*, 280.
 Śēsha, *see* Ādisēsha.
 Śēṭṭamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 426.
 Śēṭṭi, *race*, 462.

Śeṭṭi Tiruvaḍigal, *m.*, 438.
 Sētu, *s.a.* Rāmēśvaram, 70.
 Seven Pagodas, *vi.*, [6].
 śevīḍu, *grain and liquid measure*, 11, 113, 118, 151, 189, 241.
 Śevilimēḍu, *vi.*, 168n, 179, 181.
 Śēvūr, *s. a.* Chēvūr, 148.
 śey, *land measure*, 245, 247, 250, 256, 264, 300, 327.
 Śeyyūr, *vi.*, 193.
 Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo, *s. a.* Rājendra-Chōla I., [21].
 Sholinghur, *vi.*, 89.
 Shore temple, 345n.
 Śibi, *mythical solar k.*, [4], 385, 416, 423.
 Sibis, *s.a.* Śaibyas, 424.
 sidāri, 298.
 Siddhalingamaḍam, *vi.*, [12].
 Siddhāntasārāvali, *work*, [24].
 Siddhēśvaramuḍaiya-Mahādēva, *te.*, 297, 298.
 signs of the zodiac :—
 Dhanus, 57, 83, 86.
 Kanyā, 70.
 Karkataka, 239, 241.
 Kumbha, 73, 74, 278.
 Makara, 87.
 Mēsha, 276.
 Simha, 63, 88, 210.
 Vṛiśchika, 173, 219.
 Śikkal or Śikkil, *vi.*, 266, 269, 273.
 Śikkāli-Bhatta, *m.*, 113.
 Śikkar, *vi.*, 292.
 Śikkār-uḍaiyān Puliyān, *m.*, 21.
 Silāhāra family, 57n.
 silā-lēkhā, 267n.
 Silappadigāram, *Tamil work*, [4]n, 379.
 sill-irai, *tax*, 143n.
 Sillūr, *vi.*, 159.
 silvari, *tax*, 122n, 143n, 168n.
 Simha, *see* Puṇṇai Śiṅgaṇ.
 Simha, Vīra-Nārasimhadēva or Vīranārasimhadēva Yādavarāya, *ch.*, 208.
 Simhāchalam, *vi.*, 126, 159n.
 Simhala or Śiṅgala, *s.a.* Ceylon, 7, 56, 57, 81, 185, 194, 203, 206, 212, 386, 419, 443, 446, 449n, 450, 457, 461.
 Simhalāntakachēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Simhavarman, *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Simhavishṇu, *Pallava k.*, 134n, 284.
 Simhavishṇu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *sur. of* Kañjaṭūr, 284.
 Simhavishṇu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *sur. of* Maṇali, 134.
 Śināchchōlaṇ, *title of* Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyān, 446.
 Sindh or Sindhu, *province*, 57n.
 Sindurar, *people of Sindhu*, 57.
 Śiṅgalāntaka or Simhalāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 389, 390, 391, 392, 426, 427, 428, 430, 431, 432, 434, 437.
 Śiṅgalāntaka Danappiriyaṇ, *sur. of* Āyiravaṇ Araṅgaṇ, *m.*, 437.
 Śiṅgala Vīranāraṇaṇ, *m.*, 373.
 Śiṅgamaiaṇ, *m.*, 251.

Śiṅgaṇ, *king of* Kōśalai, 37.
 Śiṅganam, *co.*, 129, 130, 144, 147, 162n, 164n, 174, 176.
 Śiṅganāṇ, *s.a.* Javasiṃha III., 32, 37, 118, 119, 130, 198, 200, 201.
 Śiṅgaṇ Aravaṇaiyaṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Śiṅgaṇ Chandrasēgaraṇ, *m.*, 310.
 Śiṅga-Perumāl, *s.a.* Narasiṃha, 87.
 Śiṅgapura-nāḍu, *di.*, 224, 225, 226, 352, 354.
 Singhalese, *people*, [4]n, [10], [11], [12], [15], [18], 206.
 Śiṅṇamaṇūr (Chinnamanur), *vi.*, [5], [10], 244, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 463n.
 Śiṅṇiṇṇapākkam, *vi.*, 438.
 Śira-chakram, *head circlet*, 476.
 Śiriyavēlār, Śiruvēlār or Parāntakaṇ (Pirāntakaṇ) Śiriyavēlār, *sur. of* Tiruṅkaṇṇali-Piṇṇaṇ, [14], [15], [16], 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 476.
 Śirrambalam, *s. a.* Chidambaram, 30, 111.
 Śirramūr, *vi.*, 429, 437.
 Śirrinavāl, *vi.*, 239.
 Śirriṅgaṇ, *vi.*, 307, 377.
 Śirriṅgaṇuḍaiyān, Śirriṅgaṇuḍaiyān Kōyilmayilai or Kōyilmayilai, *ch.*, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382.
 Śirriyārrūr, *s. a.* Śittāttūr, 289, 291, 292, 293, 374, 375.
 Śirugudi, *vi.*, 293.
 Śirukarai, *land*, 480.
 Śirukarugēśuva, *land*, 330.
 Śirukulattūr, *vi.*, [12], 242, 243.
 Śirukunra-nāḍu, *di.*, 438.
 Śirumāṇalūr, *m.*, 429, 437.
 śirupāḍu or śiruvāḍu, *explained*, 477.
 Śirupaluvūr, *see* Kilappaluvūr.
 Śiru-Sēvvūr, *vi.*, 462.
 Śiruttōṇḍanambi, *sur. of* Śivaṇ Tillaiṇāyakaṇ, 470, 471.
 Śitpuli, *ch.*, [12], 242, 243.
 Śittāttūr, *vi.*, 289.
 Sitti, *ch.*, 69.
 Sittirai-tiruvilā, *festival*, 266, 274.
 Sittiravallipperuñjeru, *land*, 274.
 Śiva, *god*, [3], [4], [8], [9], [18], 1, 22, 24, 30, 46, 49, 88, 91, 94, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 132, 152, 158, 162, 165, 168, 185n, 198, 214, 221, 222, 227, 228, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 242, 243, 244, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 258, 259, 260, 275n, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 291, 297, 306, 307, 310, 311, 345, 352, 354, 358, 373, 374, 376, 378, 384, 386, 387, 389, 413, 418, 419, 420, 422, 423, 425, 437, 443, 457, 460.
 Śiva-Brāhmaṇas, 48, 88, 94, 97, 103, 104, 113, 120, 253, 329, 438, 471.
 Śivachūḍāmaṇi, *biruda of* Rājasiṃhavarman, 2n.
 Śivachūḍāmaṇimaṅgalam, *sur. of* Ukkal, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 18, 19, 21.
 Śivadāsaṇ Brahmaṇpriyaṇ, Śivadāsaṇ Āiyāyirattirunūṇṇuva (Āyirattēṇṇūṇṇuva) Brahmaṇpriyaṇ, Āiyāyirattirunūṇṇuva-Brahmaṇpriyaṇ or Brahmaṇpriyaṇ, *m.*, 324, 335, 345, 354, 356, 360, 370, 371.

Śivadēvaṇ, *land*, 317.
 Śivakkolundu-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Śivakkuri Nūṟṇemaṇ, *m.*, 233.
 Śivamahārāja or Śivamahārāja-Perumāṇaḍigal, *s.a.*, Śivamāra, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 108.
 Śivamahārāja-Tiruvaiyaṇ, *see* Tiruvaiyaṇ.
 Śivamahārāja, *W. Gaṅga k.*, 99.
 Śivan Tillaināyakaṇ, *m.*, 470, 471, 472, 473.
 Śivapuram, *vi.*, 136.
 Śivaśaraṇaśēgara-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, *sur. of* Kūṭṭaṇ Gaṅgaikoṇḍāṇ, 472.
 Śivaskandavarman, *Pallava k.*, [5], [6].
 Śivayōgin, 382, 383.
 Śivindiram, *s.a.*, Śuchindram, 159.
 Śiyamaṅgalam, *vi.*, [6].
 Śiyagaṅga Amarābharāṇa, *see* Amarābharāṇa Śiyagaṅgaṇ.
 Śiyaṇ Puravariniraṇjaṇ, *m.*, 295.
 Skanda, *god*, 161n, 461.
 Skandaśishya, *Pallava k.*, [6], [8].
 Śmasānēśvara, *te.*, 117n, 140n.
 Śōdiyambākkam, *vi.*, 18, 19.
 Śōla *s.a.* Chōla, [4]n.
 Śōla-Ayōṭṭiyarājaṇ, *sur. of* Parāntakadēvaṇ, 62.
 Śōla-Gaṅgaṇ, *sur. of* Madhurāntakaṇ, 62.
 Śōla-Janakarājaṇ, *sur. of* Kādāraṅkoṇḍa Śōlaṇ, 62.
 Śōla-Kaṇṇakuchchiarājaṇ, *sur. of* Irattapādi-konda Śōlaṇ, 62.
 Śōla-Kēraladēva, *k.*, 187.
 Śōla-Kērala-maṇḍalam, *sur. of* Koṅgu, 31, 44, 45, 46, 62n.
 Śōla-Kēralaṇ, *Chōla prince*, 62.
 Śōlakēralanallūr, *sur. of* Śēvūr, 148.
 Śōlakulasundaraṇ-Vichchādiri Ālvār, *f.*, 154.
 Śōlakulasundarī, *channel of*, 216.
 Śōlamūvēndavēlāṇ, *sur. of* Mānikkaṇ Eduttapādam, *m.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Śōla-Mūvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Nakkaṇ Kaṇichehaṇ, 266, 269, 272, 273, 291, 292.
 Śōla-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, *m.*, [17], 173.
 Śōlaṇ, *title of* Śadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra, 446.
 Śōla-nāḍu or Śōnāḍu, *the Chōla country*, [4]n, 4, 6, 15, 30, 232, 241, 243, 252, 253, 254, 262, 295, 367, 368, 373, 444, 450, 462.
 Śōlaniyamam, *quarter*, 265, 266, 267, 268, 272, 275.
 Śōlapuram, *vi.*, [6], [12].
 Śōlarāja-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, *sur. of* Karumāṇikkaṇ Śōmaṇ, 118.
 Solar race, [5], [19], 69, 127, 385, 413, 415n, 416, 417, 418, 421, 422, 423, 424, 443, 446, 449, 458.
 Śōla-Vallabhaṇ, *sur. of* Madhurāntakaṇ, 62.
 Śōlavichchādira (or Udaiyār Śōla) Pallavaraiyar, *sur. of* Irāsandaṇ, 475, 476.
 Śōlēndrasimha-Māyilatti, *sur. of* Kaṇḍaṇ Maṇavaṇ, 30.
 Śōliavaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 97.
 Śōma, *plant*, 416n.
 Śōmanātha or Samkaradēvaṇ Śōmanātha, *ch.*, 89, 107, 108, 109.
 Śōmantāhēśvara, *te.*, 22, 23, 29.

Śōmanāyagaṇ Śandaiyaṇ Ayiravaṇ, *sur. of* Madurāntaka Karambuḷār, *m.*, 230.
 Śōmanēri, *vi.*, 340, 341.
 Śōmaṅgalam, *vi.*, 125, 128, 139, 140, 172.
 Śōmarāśar Dēvaṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Śōmāsi, *m.*, 329.
 Śōmāsi-bhūmi, *field*, 330.
 Śōmēśvara I, *W. Chālukya k.*, [17], 32, 52, 53, 58, 59, 64, 65, 68n, 201, 203.
 Śōmēśvara II, *W. Chālukya k.*, [16], 129, 194, 195, 201.
 Śōmēśvara, *te.*, 45.
 Śōmēśvara III, *k.*, 57n.
 Śōmūr, *vi.*, [12], 31, 43n, 45.
 Śōnāḍu, *see* Śōla-nāḍu.
 Śōrumāṭṭu, *tax*, 143.
 Śōṭṭai, *seat* (?), 162.
 Śōṭṭai Gōvindaḥattar, *m.*, 177.
 Śraddhāmantas, 332, 370, 371.
 Śragdharā, *metre*, 450.
 Śramaṇa, *s.a.* Jaina, 15.
 Śrāvaṇai, *s.a.* āvanam, 105n, 223.
 Śrēsthin, *m.*, 443, 458.
 Śrēsthīsaraman, *m.*, 443, 444, 458.
 Śrī, *s. a.*, Lakshmi, 342, 420, 421, 458.
 Śrībalibhōga, 349, 354, 360.
 Śrībalidēva, *image*, 294.
 Śrībali-paṭṭi or Śrībalipuram, *land*, 106, 109, 371.
 Śrīdēvi-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 249, 324, 325, 336, 339, 340, 341, 342, 349, 353, 355, 360.
 Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 84.
 Śrīdharakramavittar, *m.*, 259.
 Śrī-Gaṇḍarādityan, *flower garden of*, 321, 322.
 Śrīkaṇḍaṇ Avināśagaṇ, *m.*, 282.
 Śrīkaṇṭha, *s. a.* Śiva, 413.
 Śrīkaraṇīśvara, *s. a.* Tāndōṇṇīśvara, 173, 176.
 Śrīkārya, *office*, 241, 261, 272, 283, 286, 320, 375, 379.
 Śrīkrishna-Bhaṭṭar, *m.*, 177.
 Śrīkrishna-Sūri or Śrīkrishna-Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 87.
 Śrīkrishṇaṇ Uttamappiriyaṇ, *sur. of* Āyiravaṇ Ayyaṇ Perumāṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Śrīkrishṇapura, *channel*, 177.
 Śrīmad-Dvāra, Śrīmad-Dvārāpati or Śrīmad-Dvārāpuridēva, *s.a.* Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ, 49, 51, 57, 63, 70.
 Śrīmādhavarchēri, *quarter of* Tiruvisālūr, 257.
 Śrī-Māra, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 443, 446, 457.
 Śrīmēdinivallabha, *title of* Vīrarājēndra I, 195, 198.
 Śrīmuga. Śrīmukha, or Tirumugam, *royal order*, 158, 329, 389, 390, 426, 429.
 Śrīnārāyaṇa-Agnīśarma-Kramar, *m.*, 6.
 Śrīnātha, *title*, 98, 100, 101, 105, 108.
 Śrīnivāsa, *s. a.* Viṣṇu, 458.
 Śrīpadanellūr, *vi.*, 25.
 Śrīpurambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam, *vi.*, [8], [10], 449.
 Śrīrāma-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 87.
 Śrīrāmadēvaṇ, *m.*, 83.
 Śrīrāma-Śīrīlaṅgō, *m.*, 81.
 Śrīraṅgam, *island*, 125, 126, 148, 168, 187, 205, 217, 219n.

Śrīraṅganātha, *see* Raṅganātha.
 Śrīraṅganātha-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 168.
 Śrīśaḍagōpa-Dāsar, *m.*, 151.
 Śrīvaishṇava, *see* Vaishṇava.
 Śrīvallabha, *Ceylon prince*, 53n.
 Śrīvallabha, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 37, 465n.
 Śrīvallabha, *sur. of* Śrīmāra, 443, 446, 449, 457.
 Śrīvallavaṇ (Śrīvallabha) Maṇarāja, *sur. of* Parākrama-Pāṇḍu, 52, 53, 56.
 Śrīvara, *sur. of* Parāntaka Neḍuñjadaiyaṇ, 446.
 Śrīveli-Vishṇugriha, *te.*, 370, 371, 372.
 Śrīviśālūra, *s.a.* Tiruviśālūr, 257, 258.
 Śrīviśaya or Śrīvijaya, *s.a.* Palambang, [21], 466, 469.
 Śrīyārūr-kalaṇi, *land*, 17.
 Śruti, *s. a.* the Vēdas, 422.
 sthāna, *temple*, 329.
 Śthānu Ravi, *Chēra k.*, [8], 221, 222, 235.
 strīdhana, 284.
 Śubhadēva, *Chōla k.*, 386.
 Subrahmanya-bhaṭṭāra, *te.*, 348, 349.
 Subrahmanya-vāyakkāl, *channel*, 17, 317, 319, 371.
 Subrahmanyanārāsam, *lane*, 326, 327, 334, 336, 338, 340, 346, 347, 353, 355, 360.
 Suchindram, *vi.*, [7], 159n, 267.
 Śūlaikulam, *tank*, 477, 479, 480.
 śulakkāl or śūlavulakku, *measure*, 229, 231.
 Śūlapāni Arumoli, *m.*, 428, 429, 438.
 ūlli, *tree*, 28, 430.
 Sun, [4], 69, 126, 206, 218, 384, 413, 414n, 422, 460, 461, 472.
 Sundaikulī, *land*, 260.
 Sundara-Chōla (Sōlaṇ), *sur. of* Mudikonḍa-Chōla, 33, 37, 58, 62.
 Sundara or Sundara-Chōla, *sur. of* Parāntaka II., [3], [4], [8], [12]n, [14], [15], [16], 255, 257, 258, 263, 265n, 288, 375, 379, 383, 387, 419, 420, 476, 477.
 Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, *k.*, [18].
 Sundaramūrti, *Saiva saint*, 143, 384.
 Sundara - Pāṇḍya, *mythical*, *Pāṇḍya, k.*, 442, 446, 457.
 Sundara-Pāṇḍya, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 52, 56.
 Sundara-Sōla, *road of*, 212, 216.
 sūṇḍil, *tree*, 58n.
 Sūṇḍilēri, *tank*, 58.
 Śuṅgandavittōṇ or Śuṅgandavirtta-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva, *s. a.* Kulōttuṅga I., 131, 180, 191.
 Śūrachūlāmaṇi, *biruda of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Surādhirāja, *s. a.* Suraguru, 417n.
 Suraguru, *s.a.* Mrityujit, [4], 385, 417.
 Śūraṇ Aniyaṇ, *m.*, 312.
 Surēśvarāchārya, *teacher*, [9].
 Śurivalaiyaṇ, *k.*, 464.
 Śūrri Kaṇḍattadigaḷ, *m.*, 288.
 Śuruli-āru, *vi.*, 444, 450, 462.
 Śuruli-malai, *hill*, 450.
 Śūryadēva, *shrine*, 137.
 Sūsruta, *author*, 458n.
 Suttamali-valanāḍu, *di.*, 216.
 Suttūru, *vi.*, 195.

Suvabala (Svabala)-kollai, *land*, 18.
 Śuvaraṇ Māraṇ, *sur. of* Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṇ II., 441n.
 Śuvaraṇ Śāttan, *m.*, 293.
 svam, *fund*, 64.
 svāmi-bhōga, *landlord's share*, 236.
 Śvētāranyēśvara, *te.*, 31, 51, 79.
 Syandanagrāma, *vi.*, 443, 458.

T

tadi, *a measuring rod*, 58, 81, 260, 274, 318, 321, 364, 365, 368.
 Taḍiga, Taḍiga (Taḍigai or Taḍiya)-pādi, Taḍivali or Taḍiyavali, *co.*, 5, 6, 7, 11, 15, 23, 24, 29, 105, 107.
 taḍivali-vāriyam, *committee*, 327, 329.
 Taichchanūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 438.
 Taila II., *W. Chālukya k.*, 58n, 387, 388, 421, 423.
 Tai-Pūsam, *festival*, 379.
 Taiyūr, *vi.*, 356, 357, 361, 362, 363.
 Takkana (Dakṣiṇa)-Lādam, *s.a.* Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha [19], 469.
 Takkōlam, *vi.*, [12], [14], 31, 37n, 64, 68n, 106, 126, 192, 208n, 343, 350, 361, 366, 386.
 Takkōlam, *s.a.* Takōpa, [21], 469.
 Takōpa, *vi.*, [21].
 tālaimagan, *the headman*, 293, 307.
 Talaing, *co.*, 195.
 talai-nir, *first water*, 288.
 talaipparai, 273, 319.
 Talaiṣayanam, *te.*, 356.
 Talaiṣayanapuram, *sur. of* Taiyūr, *vi.*, 356, 357, 361, 362, 363.
 Tālāivēḍu, *s.a.* Tālambēḍu, 165, 167.
 Talaiyālaṅṅanam, *vi.*, 443, 445, 446, 450, 460.
 Tālakottigāmundaśvāmi, *m.*, 350.
 talam, 273.
 tālam, *a plate*, 241.
 Tālambēḍu, *vi.*, 165.
 tāli, *a marriage badge*, 475.
 Tāli-Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 308.
 Tāli Erumāṇ, *m.*, 363.
 Tāli Śandira (Chandra) sēgaran (śēkharan), *m.*, 293, 312.
 Tāli Tiruppanāṅḍu, *vi.*, 38, 41.
 Taluvupōśaṇsēri, *vi.*, 118.
 Tamarai-kulam, *tank*, 477, 479.
 tambi, *a younger brother or cousin*, 196.
 Tamaṇūr, *vi.*, 172.
 Tamaṇūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 172, 173.
 Tamil, *a dance*, 379.
 Tamilakam, *co.*, [1].
 Tamluk (Tāmrāipti), *s. a.* Tamilakam, [1]n.
 Tammaḍi Nambi, *sur. of* Mādilaṇ Kalvaṇ Geruḍan, *m.*, 322.
 Tammusiddhi or Tammusiddhi-Araisaṇ, *Telugu-Chōda ch.*, 33n, 207.
 Tāmōdiraṇ (Dāmōdara) Vengāḍan, *m.*, 158.
 Tanakkamalai, *vi.*, 352, 354.
 Tandaganād-Udaiyaṇ, *sur. of* Kēśavaṇ Pērayiram-Udaiyaṇ or Vēlaṇ Pērayiram-Udaiyaṇ, 73, 76.
 tandal or tandal-ilakkai, *tax*, 117 and *add.*
 Taṇḍalam, *vi.*, [6], 185n.
 Taṇḍan Anai, *m.*, 26.

- Tāṇḍāṇḍōttam, *vi.*, 391.
 Tāṇḍarai or Tāṇḍurai, *vi.*, 165, 167.
 tāṇḍava, a dance, 185.
 Tāṇḍipūdi, *sur.* of Śembiyaṇ Uttaramantri, *m.*, 293, 307.
 Tāṇḍōṇṇīśvara, *te.*, 173, 202.
 tāṇḍūr, a free village, 3n, 8n, 176n, 200n, 204n.
 Tāṇjai, Tāṇjāvūr, Tāṇjāpuri, or Tāṇchāpuri, *s.a.*
 Tanjore, [5], [7], [12] 11, 12, 14, 15, 20n, 22,
 31, 33, 75, 76n, 109n, 168n, 235, 377, 378,
 382, 383, 386, 418, 441n, 444, 446, 449, 450,
 461.
 Tāṇjāvūr-kūram, *di.*, 168n, 378, 383.
 Tanjore, *vi.*, [5], [7], [12], [15], [17], [18], 1, 14,
 21n, 46n, 52, 125, 127, 136, 138n, 151n, 155n,
 178, 181, 182, 197, 234, 235, 239n, 246, 260,
 265n, 267, 268, 288n, 296n, 297, 319n, 379,
 386, 418, 443, 449, 465, 466n.
 Tāṇkūttamudaiyāṇ Vāṇṇakkaṇ, *m.*, 288.
 Tāṇmīśvara, *s.a.* Dharmēśvara, 88.
 tāṇṇippaṭṭi, 364, 365.
 Tāṇṇirkunṇam, *vi.*, 470, 471, 472, 473.
 Tāṇṇōṇṇipirāṇ, *god*, 477, 479.
 Tantravārtika, *work*, [1].
 tapasvin, an ascetic, 48.
 Tappildaram Pallavaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 246, 247, 248.
 taragu or taragu-pāṭṭam, 391.
 taram, *class*, 300.
 tari-irai or tarippudavai, 391.
 Tarippaṭṭi, *field*, 354.
 Tarudamba-vāykkāl, *channel*, 5, 6.
 Tarumapuram, *vi.*, 159.
 Tatta-bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 348.
 Tattaiyūr-nāḍu or Tattaigala-nāḍu, *di.*, 31, 43,
 44, 45, 46.
 Tattanārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 263.
 Tattāṇēri, *tank*, 253.
 Tattāṇ Śēṇḍaṇ, *m.*, 427, 429, 438.
 tattār-pāṭṭam, *tax*, 311, 391.
 tattirai, *tax*, 300.
 tattukkāyam, 391.
 Tattūr, *vi.*, 11.
 taviṣu, a throne?, 221.
 Tayanārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār, *m.*, 256.
 Tāyaṇ Śiṅgaṇ, *m.*, 445, 465.
 Tēki, *vi.*, 179, 196.
 Telīnga or Teluṅga-Bhīma (or Vīmaṇ), *ch.*, 180,
 182, 184.
 Tellāṇṇerinda, *sur.* of Nandippōttaraiyaṇ, 228,
 229n.
 Telugu-Chōḍa, *family*, [5].
 Teluṅgar, 81.
 Tempalle, *vi.*, 25.
 tendi, *tree*, 57.
 Ten-Headed, *s.a.* Rāvaṇa, 442, 457.
 Ten-Kaḍuvāy, *di.*, 295.
 Tenkarai-nāḍu, *di.*, 243.
 Tenkārpāṭṭi, *field*, 354.
 Ten-Kōṅgu, *di.*, 47.
 Tenkolli, *s.a.* Tempalle, 25, 26.
 Tennan, *title* of Parāntka Neḍuṇṇaiyaṇ, 446.
 Tennan, *title* of Śadaiyaṇ Raṇadhīra, 446.
 Tennavaṇ, *s.a.* Pandya, 218, 462.
 Tennavaṇ Paṇḍōvēlār, *ch.*, 228, 229, 257.
 Tennavaṇ Pirudimārāsaṇ, *m.*, 249, 250.
 Tennēri, *vi.*, 172, 192.
 Tennūr, *vi.*, 251.
 tenṇalī, the southern temple, 98.
 Tēraṇ, *m.*, 330n.
 Terkuri (or Śērṇkuri-)Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṇ-
 galōttamaṇ (or Uttaramērumaṇgalōttamaṇ), *m.*,
 332, 333, 337.
 Tērmāraṇ, *sur.* of Rājasimha I., 446, 447, 448.
 terri, a hedge, 434.
 Terri Venkāḍaṇ, *m.*, 428, 429.
 Tēttarundirai, *Vaiṣṇava hymn*, 148, 151.
 Tēvaḍi Kamalaṇ, *see* Dēvaḍi Kamalaṇ.
 Tevaṇappalli, *s.a.* Sōmūr, 31, 45, 46.
 Tēvaṇḍuḍi, *see* Dēvaṇḍuḍi.
 Tēvūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 38.
 tiger, *crest*, 69n, 132, 142, 146, 176, 181, 182n,
 212, 218, 385, 388n, 417, 443, 460.
 Tikkāli (or Tiruttikkāli)-Perumāṇ (or Perumā-
 ṇadigaḷ or Ālvār), *god*, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101,
 102, 106, 107.
 The Tamils 1800 Years Ago, *work*, [2].
 Tikkāli-Vallam, Tiruttikkāli or Tirutikkāli, *s.a.*
 Tiruvallam, *s.a.* Tiruvallam, 89, 94, 96, 97,
 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 111, 122.
 Tillaikkūṭṭa-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 168.
 Tillaiṇāyaganallūr, *s.a.* Kaḍavāychehēri 210, 212,
 214, 216.
 Tillaiyāchārya, *m.*, 321.
 Tillasthānam, *vi.*, [8], [12], 179, 249, 263.
 Tilōkasundarī, *queen* of Vijayabāhu I., of Ceylon,
 59.
 timilai, a drum, 221, 319.
 Tiṇḍakūḷa-Mādhava-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 71.
 Tiṇḍivaṇam, *vi.*, 126, 148n, 193, 200.
 Tinnevely, *vi.*, 126.
 Tintriṇīśvara, *te.*, 148n, 200.
 Tiraimūr, *vi.*, 155, 158, 159, 260, 261, 379, 380,
 381, 382.
 Tiraimūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 117, 134, 155, 158, 223, 294.
 tiranai, *ornament*, 475.
 Tīraṇ Mūdayyaṇ, *ch.*, 352, 354.
 Tīraṇ Śēṇṇippēraraiyaṇ, *m.*, [10], 231, 232, 233.
 Tīraṇ Ulagaḍigaḷ, *m.*, 352, 354.
 Tiru, *s.a.* Lakshmi, 468.
 tiru, an astrologer, 321n.
 Tiruchchēdi Irāsādi, *m.*, 244.
 tiruchcheṇṇāḍai or tiruchcheṇṇāḍai, *sacred current*
expenses, 334, 344, 355, 367.
 Tiruchchendurai, *vi.*, 228, 229, 262, 263.
 Tiruchcheṇḍōḍu, *vi.*, 476.
 tiruchchilambu, *sacred anklet*, 475.
 Tiruchchirrambala-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 88.
 Tiruchchirrambalakkālāṇ, *sur.* of Aravābharāṇaṇ
 Eḍuttapādam, 471, 473.
 Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyāṇ, *m.*, 118.
 Tiruchchirrambalam-udaiyār, *te.*, 214, 216.
 Tiruchchuram, *vi.*, 83, 84.
 tiruchchurāḷai, or tiruchchurumāḷigai, *s.a.* pari-
 vārāḷaiya, 24n, 322.
 Tirukkadaṇmallai, *s.a.* Mahābalipuram, 186n.
 Tirukkalar or Veṅḡrkkala-Tirukkalar, *vi.*, 464,
 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475.
 Tirukkālatti, *see* Kālāhasti.
 Tirukkālattidēva, *ch.*, 208.
 Tirukkālatti Piccheṇ, *m.*, 389, 426.
 Tirukkalāvūr, *vi.*, [12], 233, 235, 244, 259.
 Tirukkalittattai, *vi.*, 255, 288n.
 Tirukkalukkuṇṇam or Kalukkuṇṇam, *vi.*, [8], 3n,
 21n, 65, 69n, 125, 126, 143, 148, 164, 165,
 167, 193, 208n.

Tirukkalukkuṇṇam-Uḍaiya-Mahādēvar, *s. a.*
 Vēdagiriśvara, 167.
 Tirukkānappēr-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 462.
 tirukkandavāli, *sacred necklace*, 476.
 Tirukkandiyūr, *see* Kandiyūr.
 tirukkannāmadai, 189, 337.
 Tirukkarapuram, *s. a.* Tirupparkaḍal, 232, 327, 329, 330.
 Tirukkarāli Pichchan, *ch.*, [14], 255.
 Tirukkarugāvūr, *see* Karugāvūr.
 Tirukkāttuppalli, *vi.*, 252.
 Tirukkīl-kōttam, *s. a.* Nāgēsvara, 276, 278, 283, 284, 378, 382, 383.
 Tirukkudittittai, *s. a.* Tirukkalittattai, 258, 259.
 Tirukoilur or Tirukkōyilūr, *vi.*, 199, 246.
 tirukkoḷgai, *ornament*, 474.
 Tirukkoḷambūdūr, *vi.*, 205.
 Tirukkōvalūr, *s. a.* Tirukoilur, [6], [7], 125, 126, 152, 199, 200.
 tirukkōyilūḍaiyār, *temple priests*, 319, 322.
 Tirukkudamūkkil, *s. a.*, Kumbakōṇam, 233, 234, 245, 276, 278, 283, 284, 377, 378, 382, 383.
 Tirukkuraṅgāḍuturai, *s. a.* Āḍuturai, 294.
 Tirumadaivilāgam, *see* Tirumadavilāgam.
 Tirumāl, *s. a.* Viṣṇu, 134, 158.
 Tirumalai, *vi.*, 73, 465, 466n.
 Tirumaluvādi or Tirumalavādi, *vi.*, 39, 58, 126, 178, 182, 186, 205.
 Tirumāliruṅḷalai, 339, 340.
 Tirumālpēru or Tirumālpuram, *vi.*, [9], 238, 254, 288, 239, 291, 292, 293, 373, 374.
 Tirumanappichchan, *m.*, 469, 470.
 tirumandirav-ōlai, or mandira-ōlai, *royal secretary* 136, 312.
 Tirumaṅgai, *vi.*, 446.
 Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār (Tirumaṅgaiyālvār), *Vaiṣṇava saint*, [3], 187, 447n.
 Tirumānikuḷi (Tirumānikuḷi), Uḍavi-Mānikuḷi or Uḍavi-Tirumānikuḷi, *vi.*, 204, 205, 209, 210.
 tiru maṇṇi vilāṅḡum, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I.*, 125.
 Tirumāppēraṇ, *m.*, 113.
 Tirumayāṇam (Tirumeyjāṇam), *part of Nālūr*, 222.
 Tirumayāṇam-Uḍaiyār, *s. a.* Smaśānēśvara, 117.
 Tirumēṇṇali, *s. a.* Mēlaikkōyil, 234.
 Tirumilalai, *vi.* 281.
 Tirumudukuṇṇam, *s. a.* Vṛiddhāchalam, 152.
 tirumukkāṇam, *tax*, 391.
 Tirumūlaṭṭāṇam, *te.*, 234, 330.
 Tirumullainātha, *te.*, 244.
 Tirumullaivāyil, *vi.*, 286, 287, 288, 351, 373.
 Tirumunaippādi, *di.*, 198, 199.
 Tirumurai, 384.
 Tirunaḍuvūr, *vi.*, 244.
 Tirunalakkuaṇṇam, *s. a.* Kuḍumiyāmalai, 234.
 Tirunallam, *s. a.* Kōnērīrājapuram, 276, 277, 296, 300, 301, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322.
 Tirunallattuchēri, *village site*, 310.
 Tirunallūr, *s. a.* Nallūr, 282, 283, 312.
 Tirunālur, *vi.*, 293.
 tirunāmakkāni, 426.
 Tirunāmanallūr, *vi.*, [13], 192, 193, 195, 197, 198.
 Tiruñāṇasambandhar, *Śaiva saint*, 89n, 134, 152, 155, 182, 209, 212n.
 Tirunaṇaiyūr, *vi.*, 298.

Tirunaṇaiyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 281, 282, 298, 299.
 Tirunāraṇa-vadi, *path*, 326.
 Tirunāraṇa-vāykkāl, *channel*, 330.
 Tirunāraṇachēri, *quarter of Tiruvisālūr*, 256.
 Tirunāvalūr, *s. a.* Tirunāmanallūr, 198, 199.
 Tiruneḍundāṇḍagam, *Vaiṣṇava hymn*, 187.
 Tiruneḍuṅḡalam, *vi.*, 286.
 Tiruneyttāṇam, *s. a.* Tillasthānam, 221, 249, 250, 264.
 tirunilam, tirunāḍu or tirunāṇḍu, *heaven*, 142n.
 Tirunīlakandachēri, *quarter of Tiruvisālūr*, 257.
 Tirunōmbalūr, *see* Nōmbalūr.
 Tirupaṇṇiśvaram, *te.*, 330.
 Tirupāpuliūr, *vi.*, 191, 192, 193.
 Tirupati, *vi.*, 151n, 208, 337n.
 Tiruppadigam or Tiruppadiyam, *hymn*, 93, 94, 285, 301, 320, 322.
 Tiruppalātturai, *vi.*, 246, 279.
 Tiruppanambūdūr, *vi.*, 246, 247, 248, 249.
 Tirupparkaḍal, *vi.*, [10], 231, 233n.
 Tiruppāsūr, *vi.*, 208n, 254, 391, 431.
 tiruppaṭṭam, *a sacred diadem*, 475.
 tiruppaṭṭigai-palagai, *a sacred girdle plate*, 475.
 tiruppirai, *ornament*, 474, 475.
 Tiruppātturai, *s. a.* Tiruppalātturai, 246, 247, 275, 279, 280, 299, 300.
 Tiruppori-Kramavittan, *m.*, 73.
 Tiruppulivalam or Tiruppulivaṇam, *vi.*, 126, 325.
 tiruppū-maṇḍapam, 213, 216.
 Tiruppurambiyam, *vi.*, 215n.
 Tiruppurambiyam-uḍaiyāṇ Kayilāyadēvan
 (Kailāsadēva), *m.*, 215.
 Tirupputūr, *vi.*, 450.
 Tiruppūvaṇam, *vi.*, 163n.
 Tiruttāṇḍiśvara, *te.*, 251, 252, 253.
 Tiruttāntōṇri-Mahāśrīkaraṇa-Īśvara, *s. a.* Tāṇḍōṇ-
 ṇiśvara, 202, 204.
 tiruttāvaḍam, *ornament*, 475.
 Tiruttāṇḍiśvara, *s. a.* Tintrinīśvara, 200, 202.
 Tiruttōṇḍiśvara, *s. a.* Bhaktajānēśvara, 198, 199.
 Tiruttōṇippuram, *land*, 317.
 tiruvadi, 234.
 Tiruvaḍigal Vaikundaṇ, *see* Vaikundaḍigal.
 Tiruvaiya-Īśvara, *te.*, 90, 104, 106, 107, 108.
 Tiruvaiyaṇ or Śivamahārāja Tiruvaiyaṇ, *ch.*, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107.
 Tiruvaiyaṇ Śaṅkaradēva (or Saṅkaradēva), *ch.*, 89, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108.
 Tiruvaiyāru, *vi.*, 21n, 52.
 Tiruvaiyārūḍaiyāṇ, *m.*, 475, 476.
 Tiruvaiyōtti, or Tiruvaiyōttidēvar, *te.*, 58, 84.
 Tiruvalandurai-Mahādēva, *s. a.* Vāṭamūlēśvara, 152.
 Tiruvālaṅḡaḍaṇ, *name of a margosa tree*, 432.
 Tiruvālaṅḡaḍu or Ālaṅḡaḍu, *vi.*, [4], [7], [8], [10], [11], [13], [14], [15], [18], [19], [20], [22], 125, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136, 221, 226, 236, 246, 375, 383, 384, 386, 387, 389, 390, 391, 418n, 426, 428, 437.
 Tiruvālaṅḡaḍuḍaiyār, *s. a.* Ammaiyappa, 426.
 tiru-valara, *introductory words of the inscriptions of Vīrarājendra I.*, 192, 193.
 Tiruvalidāyil (Tiruvalidāyam), *vi.*, 357, 358.
 Tiruvallam, *vi.*, 22, 25, 29, 30, 38n, 58, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 96, 98, 104, 106, 107, 109, 113, 114, 119, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 129n, 136, 193, 208, 468n.

- Tiruvallam-Udaiyār, *s. a.* Bilvanāthēsvara, 108, 109, 111, 113, 117, 121, 122.
 Tiruvallūr, *vi.*, 254.
 Tiruvalūdi-nāḍu, *di.*, 151n.
 Tiruvalundār-nāḍu, *di.*, 6, 426, 427, 429.
 Tiruvāmāttūr, 227, 228.
 Tiruvāṇaikkā (*or* kāval) *s. a.* Jambukēsvara, 168, 171, 172, 418n.
 Tiruvāṇilai *or* Tiruvāṇilai-Mahādēva, *s. a.* Paṣupatisvara, 30, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 48.
 Tiruvāṇjāikkalam, *vi.*, 31.
 Tiruvāṇjiyamudaiyān, *m.*, 312.
 tiruvāram, *a sacred garland*, 475.
 Tiruvarāṅgam, *s. a.* Śrīraṅgam, 148, 152.
 Tiruvarāṅgadēvar, *s. a.* Raṅganātha, 148, 151.
 Tiruvarāṅgamudaiyān Sahasraṇ, *m.*, 73, 74.
 Tiruvarāṅga-Nārāyaṇa Śrīkrishṇaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvārūr, *vi.*, 178.
 Tiruvārūr-kūṅṅam, *di.*, 428, 429, 438.
 tiruvāsigaī, *a sacred garland*, 475.
 tiruvāsigaippurimam, *ornament*, 476.
 tiruvattamāni, *a sacred round bend*, 475.
 Tiruvattiyūr, *see* Attiyūr.
 Tiruvāyappādi, *the temple of Krishna*, 49, 84.
 Tiruvāyappādi, *s. a.* Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ, 49n, 84n.
 Tiruvāyakkulam, *s. a.* Rājagōpāla-Perumāḷ, 49, 151n.
 Tiruvāyakkulam-Udaiyān Śrīrāghavaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvāyakkula-Pittān, *m.*, 74.
 Tiruvāyakkulattu Emberumāṇ, *god*, 83.
 Tiruvāymoli, *Vaishṇava Scripture*, 2, 148.
 Tiruvāymolidēvar, *god*, 2, 5.
 Tiruvayōdhyai, *vi.*, 368, 369.
 Tiruvāyppādi, *quarter of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam*, 333, 334.
 Tiruvāyppādi-Nārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 241.
 Tiruvēdagam, *see* Eḍagam.
 Tiruvēgambamudaiyān, *sur. of* Śīyagaṅgaṇ Amarābharaṇaṇ, 122, 208.
 Tiruvēgambam-udaiyān Tiruvananthīsvaram-udaiyān, *ch.*, 212.
 Tiruvekkāvalvāṇ *or* Vehkā, *te.*, 143.
 Tiruvēlai-araichchākkai, *sur. of* Kīrttimāraik-kāḍaṇ, 378, 379.
 Tiruvellarai, *vi.*, [6], 279, 449.
 Tiruvellarai, *standard weight*, 279.
 Tiruvellavāyal, *vi.*, 237.
 Tiruveludinaḍu-Dāsar, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 81.
 Tiruvēṅgaḍanātha-Yādavarāya, *ch.*, 209.
 Tiruvēṅgaḍavaṇ Sōmaṇ, *m.*, 151.
 Tiruvēṅgaḍu *or* Tiruvēṅkaḍu, *vi.*, 31, 33n, 36n, 51, 125, 178, 192, 193, 204, 476.
 Tiruvēṇṇāval, *s. a.* Jambukēsvara, 168, 171.
 Tiruvētpūr, *vi.*, 368.
 Tiruvētpūr-Udaiyān Tēvadigal, *m.*, 368.
 Tiruviḍaimarudaṇ, *measure*, 381.
 Tiruviḍaimarudil, Tiruviḍaimarudu *or* Tiruviḍaimarudūr, *vi.*, [17], 43n, 125, 155, 156, 158, 159, 164n, 178, 260, 261, 294, 378, 379, 381, 382.
 Tiruviḍaimaruduḍaiyār, *s. a.* Mahāliṅgasvāmin, *te.*, 155, 158.
 tiruviḍaiyāttam, *s. a.* dēvadāna, 78, 83.
 Tiruviḍavandai (Tiruvadandai), *vi.*, 261, 262, 356, 361, 362, 363.
 Tiruvikrama-Bhaṭṭar, *m.*, 3.
 Tiruvilāppuram, 263, 281.
 Tiruvindalūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 4, 438.
 Tiruvirattāṇam, *s. a.* Virattānēsvara, 199, 200.
 Tiruvīsaippā, *Tamil hymns*, [13].
 Tiruvīsalūr, *vi.*, 242, 255, 256, 257, 297, 448.
 tiruvodara-mālai, *ornament*, 474.
 Tiruvorriyūr, *see* Orriyūr.
 Tiruvottūr, *vi.*, 3n, 178, 208n.
 Tiruvunnāligaipuram, *gift for the maintenance of the sacred central shrine*, 247.
 Tiruvunnāligai-vāriyam, *committee*, 262.
 Tiruvunṇaūr *or* Tiruvunṇiyūr, *quarter*, 333, 334, 355, 359, 360.
 Tiruvūral *or* Tiruvūralpuram, *s. a.* Takkōlam, 361, 366, 367.
 Tiruvūral-Ālvār *or* Tiruvūral-dēva, *s. a.* Jananāthēsvara, 343, 350, 361, 366, 367.
 Tiruvurōsaṇi, *festival*, 77.
 tiruvuttariyam, 474.
 Tīsaichchudarmaṅgalam, *sur. of* Maṇiyāchi, 443, 444, 450, 459, 462.
 Tittanaidanallūr, *vi.*, 118.
 Tīyaṅkuḍi, *vi.*, 428, 429.
 Tīyeri, *tax*, 311, 391, 436.
 tōḍu *or* tiru-tōḍu, *the sacred ear-ring*, 475, 476.
 Tōlāchcheviyar, *a class of people*, 266, 268, 275.
 Tollaikkādar, 268.
 Tolugūr, *vi.*, 391, 431, 432.
 Tolūr, *vi.*, 256.
 Tondai, *s. a.* pallava, [3].
 Tondaimān, *sur. of* Achchudan (Achyuṭa)-Rājarājaṇ, 38, 45.
 Tondaimān, *ch.*, 43, 45.
 Tondaimān, *sur. of* Rājarājaṇ, 41.
 Tondaimānārrūr, *s. a.* Tondamanād, [9], 238, 289, 292, 387.
 Tondaimānārrūr-tuṇjinaḍēva (*or* tuṇjina-udaiyar) *s. a.* Āditya I., [9], 238, 288, 289.
 Tondai, Tondai-nāḍu *or* Tondai-maṇḍalam *the Pallava co.*, [3], [7], [8], [12], [15], [16], 2, 8, 14, 15, 33, 36n, 221, 222, 289, 293, 386, 448, 449.
 Tondaimān Sōlapperiyaraiyaṇ, *sur. of* Īsvaraṇ Śīgamāni, 202.
 Tondai-nāḍu-pāviṇa, *sur. of* Āditya I., [8].
 Tondaiyar-kōṇ, *s. a.* Pallava, [3].
 Tondamanād, *vi.*, [9], 237, 238, 289.
 Tondi, *vi.*, 197.
 Tongalanikilān Tiruvorriyūraṇ, *m.*, 358.
 Tōttaṅgilānāḍaṇ Sōmaṇ, *m.*, 164.
 tōtta-vāriyam *or* vāriya), *garden committee*, 19, 231, 232, 327, 329.
 Travancore, *co.*, 52, 159.
 Trayī, *the Vedas*, 458.
 Trēta, *age*, 385, 414n, 417.
 Tribhuvanachkravartin, *title*, 43, 45, 46, 74, 77, 79, 85, 86, 87, 123, 131, 181, 191, 205, 206, 208, 209, 384, 465n, 470, 472.
 Tribhuvana-Mahādēviyār, *queen of* Pārthivēndra, 343, 370, 371, 372.
 Tribhuvanamuḷududaiyāl, *sur. of* Tyāgapatākā, 181, 182, 185, 186.
 Tribhuvanamuḷududai-valanāḍu, *di.*, 186.
 Tribhuvanallūr, *sur. of* Perumbērūr, 202, 204.
 Tribhuvanavīradēva, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga III., 43, 205.

Trichinopoly, *vi.*, [5], 30, 148, 168, 217, 449n.
 Tridhāman, *s. a.* Vishṇu, 272.
 Trilôchana, 457.
 Trilôchanasivâchārya, *author*, [22].
 Triplicane, *vi.*, [6].
 Tripura, *demon*, 418.
 Tripuravijaya, *image*, 301, 321.
 Trisāṅku, *asterism*, 421, 422.
 Trisirāppalli, *s. a.* Trichinopoly, [5].
 trisûla-kāṣu, *coin*, 121.
 Trivandrum, *vi.*, 130n.
 Triyambaka-bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 292.
 Tudamuni-nāḍu, *di.*, 358.
 Tudarmunni-nāḍu, *di.*, 134.
 tudavai, *land*, 250.
 tûḡalumâ, 297.
 Tugavûr, *vi.*, 428, 429.
 Tukkarai, *ch.*, 106, 107.
 tākuli, 340.
 tulâ, *weight*, 268.
 tulaippon, *or* tulaṇṇiraippon, 229, 234.
 tulâbhāra, *ceremony*, [13], 387, 421, 464.
 tulai, *an impression* (?), 229n.
 Tular, *vi.*, 426, 427, 429.
 Tuṇḍunukkachchēri, *quarter*, 266, 268, 272, 274.
 Tuṅḡ, *ri.*, 32.
 Tungabhadra, *vi.*, [17], 32, 37, 64, 69, 129, 144, 147, 176, 193, 194, 466.
 tūni, *grain measure*, 7n, 8, 38, 118, 139, 171, 189, 190, 229, 275, 307, 308, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 382, 472.
 Tuñjālûr, *vi.*, 462.
 tuñjina *or* tuñjiya, *explained*, 24n.
 Tûrpil Narasiṅga-Kramavittan, *m.*, 338.
 Turutti, *vi.*, 317, 318, 321.
 Tûsiyûr, *vi.*, 476, 477, 479, 480.
 Tuttan, *ch.*, 59, 63.
 Tûy-nāḍu *or* Tûññāḍu, *di.*, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 89n, 103, 104, 114, 117.
 Tyāgābharana-valanāḍu, *sur. of* Paḍuvûr-kôṭṭam, 89, 113.
 Tyāgapadāgai *or* Tyāgapatāka, *queen of* Vikrama-Chôla, 182, 185.
 Tyāgasamudra, *sur. of* Vikrama-Chôla, 179, 180n, 181.
 Tyāgavallî, *queen of* Kulôttuṅga-Chôla I., 131, 156, 158, 159, 162, 177, 178.
 Tyāgavārākara, *s. a.*, Tyāgasamudra, 181.

U

Udagai, *vi.*, 8, 11, 15, 24, 68n, 107.
 Udaipûr, *vi.*, [19].
 Udaiyadivākaraṇ Tillaiyāliyâr, *m.*, 427, 428, 438.
 Udaiyapirāṭṭiyâr, Pirāṭṭiyâr, Udaiyapirāṭṭiyâr Mâdēvadigalâr *or* Pirāntakan-Mâdēvadigalâr, *see* Mâdēvadigalâr.
 Udaiyapirāṭṭiyâr Kilānadigal, *Chôla queen*, 377, 378.
 Udaiyâr, *title*, 131, 181.
 udaiyâr, *husband*, 307, 308.
 Udaiyâr-Gaṇḍarādittatterinṇa-kaikkôlar, *regiment*, 277, 278.
 Udaiyûr, *vi.*, 293.
 Udamādampatti, *land*, 330.
 Udaya III, *Ceylon k.*, [11], [15].
 Udayachandra, *ch.*, 243.
 Udayadivākaraṇ, *see* Ârûraṇ Udaiyadivākaraṇ.
 Udayadivākaraṇ Kâtṭāḍuvāṇ, *m.*, 38, 39, 41.

Udayadivākaraṇ Kulôttuṅga Maḷavarāyaṇ, *m.*, 43.
 Udayēndiram, *vi.*, [4]n, [6], [9], [10], 15n, 26n, 49, 90, 92, 98, 99, 231, 243, 260, 449.
 Udayamārtāṇḍa-Mûvēndavēlāṇ, *sur. of* Perumāṇ Ambalattādi, *m.*, 429, 437.
 ūdupôkku, *tax*, 311, 391, 437.
 ugā, *tree*, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 436.
 Ugaḷuppalî, *m.*, 318.
 ugappâr, 111.
 ugavai, *tax*, 38, 43, 48, 111n.
 Ugavârippēraraiyaṇ, *sur. of* Nambāṇ Mañjaṇ, 362.
 Ugra, *k.*, 443, 449, 457n.
 Ukkal, Utkal, *or* Utkar, *vi.*, [7], 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 18, 57n, 151n, 267.
 Ulagai, *vi.*, 64, 68.
 Ulagalanda-Perumâl, *te.*, 268, 272n, 342.
 Ulagalanda-Sôla-chaturvêdimāṅgalam, *sur. of* Kalavai, 119.
 Ulagalanda-Sôlapuram, *sur. of* Tirukkalukkuṇ-ram, 143, 148, 167.
 Ulagamulududaiyâl, *title of* Arumolinangai, 197n, 198, 200, 202, 203.
 Ulagamulududaiyâr, *queen of* Adhirajēndradēva, 117.
 Ulaṅaṇ Mōḍaṇ, *m.*, 200.
 Ulagudaiyâl *or* Ulagumudaiyâl, *title of* Tyāgavallî, 73, 177, 178.
 Ulaguyyakkonḍa-Sôla-valanāḍu, *s. a.* Uyyakkon-ḍâr-valanāḍu, 155, 158.
 Ulaichcharaṇaṇ Tiruchchirrambalam - udaiyāṇ Ponṇambalakkûṭṭan, *m.*, 216.
 Ulaichcharaṇaṇ Vadugaṇ Tirunāṭṭamādi, *m.*, 212.
 Ulaî-ûr *or* Ulaîyûr, *vi.*, 266, 269, 273.
 Ulakkaiyûr, *vi.*, 428, 429, 438.
 ulakku, *grain and liquid measure*, 3, 27, 29, 30, 96, 97, 113, 118, 148, 151, 189, 202, 231, 235, 250, 262, 273, 274, 275, 282, 284, 285, 317, 318, 352, 357, 361, 362, 376, 378, 382.
 Ulappinimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 444, 446, 450, 461.
 ulaviyakkûli, *tax*, 391.
 ulgu, 391.
 ulvâykkâl, *channel*, 235.
 Umâ, *goddess*, 158, 162, 185n.
 Umâ-Bhaṭṭarakî, *image of*, 104.
 Umâmahēsvara, *te.*, 301.
 Umayâ-pidâri, *goddess*, 321, 322.
 Umbala-nāḍu, *di.*, 352, 354.
 Uṇaṅgarppidi, *field*, 364.
 undigai, 262.
 unṇāligai *or* tiruvunṇāligai, *central shrine*, 20n, and *add.*, 292, 319.
 unṇilam, 253, 264, 284.
 Upajâti, *metre*, 450.
 Uparichara, *sur. of* Vasu, 385, 417.
 Upāsakajanālamkāra, *work*, [22].
 Upēndravajrâ, *metre*, 450.
 uppu-kôṇchehaigai, 391.
 Uppûr, *vi.*, 391, 434.
 ûr *or* ûrôm *assembly*, 363, 364, 365, 389, 392.
 Ūragam, Ūraka *or* Ūragattu-ninrâr, *s. a.* Ulaga-landa-Perumâl, 265, 266, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 342.
 Uragambākkam, *vi.*, 165, 167.
 Ūragattu-ninrâr, *measure*, 342, 343.

Urairār, *vi.*, [2], 62, 386.
 Uraiyūr-kūrram, *di.*, 285.
 Ūramai-seyyum-Vāriyapperumakkal, *committee*,
 9n
 Ūraṇ Œraṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Ūrappōndāṇ, *m.*, 73, 83.
 Ūraṣarman, *m.*, 443, 458.
 ūrāṭchi, *tax*, 311, 391, 436.
 Ūrattūr-kūrram, *di.*, 231.
 ūreṭṭu, *tax*, 391.
 ūrgalilār, *residents of villages*, 427.
 uri, *grain and liquid measure*, 11, 98, 100, 101,
 118, 158, 159, 189, 202, 261, 273, 274, 282,
 318, 372, 382.
 ūriduvari, *tax*, 322.
 Ūrikudi, *vi.*, 427, 429.
 ūr-irukkai, *village site*, 20u, 257.
 ūr-kalāñju, *tax*, 117, 162, 311.
 ūrkāchemmai-poṇ, *pure gold (tested by the touch-
 stone of the town)*, 227, 236.
 Ūroḍagam, *s. a.* Oragaḍam, 165, 167.
 Ūrṛukkāḍu, *vi.*, 81, 172.
 Ūrṛukkāṭṭu-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 81, 91, 118, 172, 173,
 438.
 Ūrṛukkāḍu (or kāṭṭu)-nāḍu, *di.*, 81, 438.
 Ūrudaiyāṅkulam, *tank*, 241.
 Ūrupputtūr, *vi.*, 4, 168, 177.
 Ūruvupalli, *vi.*, [6].
 uṣilai, *tree*, 433.
 Ūṣinara, *mythical k.*, 415n, 416.
 Ūsuppūr, *vi.*, 210.
 Ūthiya, *s. a.* Chēra, 418n.
 uṭkurai, 247, 249, 280.
 Ūtpalāru, *vi.*, 233, 234.
 Uttama-Chōḷa (Śōḷa), *Chōḷa k.*, [5], [7], [14],
 [15], [16], [17], 8, 251, 259, 262, 263, 264,
 265, 266, 267, 272, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281,
 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 293, 294,
 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 318, 348, 379,
 383.
 Uttama-Chōḷa (or Śōḷa), *sur. of Rājendra-Chōḷa-
 I.*, 62, 388, 422.
 Uttama-Chōḷa (or Śōḷa)-Pallavaraiyaṇ, *sur. of
 Irāyiravaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ*, 14, 111, 427, 428.
 uttamāgram, *see* agram.
 Uttamanidi-Kannappar, *sur. of Vanniyanāyaṇ*,
 83.
 Uttamapriyaṇ, *sur. of Āḍavallāṇ Śivavākyadēvaṇ*,
 83.
 Uttamaśīli or Parāntakan-Uttamaśīli, *Chōḷa
 prince*, [13], 246.
 Uttamaśīli, *vi.*, 246, 299.
 Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *s. a.* Uttamaśīli,
 [13], 171, 246, 247, 248, 279, 280, 299, 300.
 Uttamaśīli-vāykkāl, *channel*, [13], 279, 280, 281.
 Uttama-Śōḷa, *channel of*, 212, 213, 216.
 Uttamaśōḷa-Brahmādhirāja, *m.*, 286.
 Uttamaśōḷaṇ, *flower garden of*, 322.
 Uttama-Śōḷaṇ, *ch.*, 38, 39, 41, 43.
 Uttama-Śōḷaṇ, *sur. of Rājendra-Śōḷaṇ*, 62.
 Uttamaśōḷa-(Chōḷa) Tamiḷadaraiyaṇ, *sur. of
 Nārāyaṇaṇ-Karrai*, 389, 426, 427, 429.
 Uttama-Śōḷa-valanāḍu, *di.*, 39, 159, 162.
 Uttarakāṇḍa, *of Rāmāyaṇa*, 444n.
 Uttara (Ūttira)-Lāḍam, *co.*, [19], 469.

Uttaramallūr, Ūttiramēlūr or Ūttaraṇmērūr, *vi.*,
 [13], 3n, 126, 128, 138n, 141, 143, 179, 190n,
 325, 327, 340, 345, 348, 350n, 362, 368n, 467n.
 Uttaramantri, *office*, 445, 465.
 Uttaramantri Pattāḷagaṇ, *m.*, 292.
 Uttaramēlūr-Udaiyaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Uttaramēru (mērūr, mallur or mēlūr)-chaturvēdi-
 maṅgalam, *sur. of Uttaramallūr*, 3, 323, 324,
 325, 326, 327, 330, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336,
 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346,
 347, 348, 349, 350, 352, 353, 355, 359, 360,
 361, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372.
 Uttaramēru-vadi, *path*, 323, 332, 342, 361, 370,
 371.
 Ūttarāpatha, *co.*, [20], 224n.
 Ūttattūr, *vi.*, [17], [18].
 Ūttonḡatoṅga-valanāḍu, *di.*, 152, 154.
 uvachchar or ugachchagal, *musicians*, 48, 273.
 Uyyakkonḍāṇ, *m.*, 39.
 Uyyakkonḍāṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 78.
 Uyyakkonḍāṇ Tirumalai, *vi.*, 192, 230, 375.
 Uyyakkonḍār (or konḍāṇ)-valanāḍu, *di.*, 117, 134,
 155n, 426, 427, 428, 429, 438.

V

Vāchchiyaṇ Mahēsvaraṇ Tirandavāṇ Kuṇaṅgaṇ,
m., 216.
 Vāḍagarai Marudēri, *field*, 236.
 Vāḍagarai Nallārrūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 284.
 Vāḍagarai Pāmbūr-nāḍu, *see* Pāmbūr-nāḍu.
 Vāḍakalavāḷi-nāḍu (or rāṣṭra), *di.*, 413, 444,
 450, 459, 462.
 Vāḍakaṇḍam, *field*, 122.
 Vāḍakaṇṇamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 308, 309, 310.
 Vāḍakarai-Rājendra-Chōḷa-valanāḍu, *sur. of Rāja-
 rāja-valanāḍu*, 209.
 Vāḍamadurappirandāṇ-Nambi, *m.*, 151.
 Vāḍamoli=Sanskrit, 443.
 Vāḍa-Sāttamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 158.
 Vāḍa-Śigara-kōyil, *te.*, 91.
 Vāḍavāyēttam, *land*, 375.
 Vāḍa-Vīranāraṇa, *vi.*, 329.
 Vāḍavūr-Veṅḡāḍu, *vi.*, 235.
 vadi, *a road*, 5, 247, 280.
 Vāḍugaṇāḍaṇ Tiruvāyikkulamān Tonḍaināṭṭā-
 chāryaṇ, *m.*, 82.
 Vāḍugaṇ Pākkaraṇ (Bhāskara), *m.*, 71.
 Vāḍugavāḷi, 12,000, *di.*, 90, 91.
 Vāḍugavāḷi, the Telugu road, 90.
 vāgai, *tree*, 218, 460.
 Vāgaikkunḍil, *land*, 97.
 Vaidumbarāditta Brahmādirājaṇ *sur. of Nārā-
 yaṇa-Kramavittan*, 342.
 Vaidumba, *family*, [9], [14], 68, 89, 106, 107,
 108.
 Vaidyanātha, *te.*, 39, 58, 182.
 Vaigai, *vi.*, 450.
 Vaigāṣi-Tiruvādirai, *festival*, 379.
 Vaigāvūr, *vi.*, 229, 230.
 Vaikāṇasaṇ Perumān-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 253.
 Vaikhāṇasaṇ Kalinīkki-bhaṭṭa, *or* Kalinīkki-
 bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 364.
 Vaikhāṇasas, 14, 15.
 Vaikundadigaḷ or Tiruvaḍigaḷ Vaikundaṇ, *m.*,
 357, 363.

- Vaikundan Pāṇḍan, *m.*, 245.
 Vaikunṭha-Perumāl, *te.*, 49, 84n, 187.
 Vairāgin, 121.
 Vaishnava or Śrī-Vaishnava [2], [3], 2n, 51, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 143, 148, 151, 152, 177n, 186, 242, 254, 269, 275, 342, 368, 375.
 Vaishnavadāsa, *m.*, 375.
 Vaishnavī, shrine of, 136.
 Vaisravana, *s. a.* Kubēra, 423.
 Vaisvadēvī, *metre*, 450.
 Vaiyōḍu, *vi.*, 357, 363.
 Vajrahasta III., *E. Gaṅga k.*, 106.
 Valabha, *mythical k.*, 385, 415.
 Valabhī, *vi.*, 385, 415.
 Valaippandūru, *vi.*, [21], 469.
 vālakkānam, 20.
 vālamañjādi, *tax*, 311, 391, 436.
 Valambagudi, *vi.*, 171.
 Valañjiyar, 295.
 Valavaṇ or Valabha, *s. a.* of Chōḷa, [15]n, 63, 385n, 424.
 Vāli, *king of the monkeys*, 444.
 Valikkutṭi, *m.*, 232.
 Vallabha, *s. a.* Chōḷa, [15], 255.
 Vallabha or Vallava, *title of Chalukya kings*, 55, 57, 62n, 69, 195.
 Vallabha, 443, 446, 457.
 Vallam, *vi.*, 428, 429.
 Vallamaṇār, *ch.*, 374.
 Valla-nāḍu, *di.*, 253, 254, 375.
 Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar, *ch.*, [15], [21], 196.
 Vallimalai, *hill*, 22.
 Vallūru, *vi.*, 106.
 Vālmiki, *sage*, 444n.
 Valudi, *s. a.* Pāṇḍya, 218, 418n.
 Vāluvarājan, *m.*, 45.
 Vāluvarāyaṇ, *sur. of Tiruppurambiyam-udaiyaṇ Kayilāyadēvaṇ*, 214, 216, 217.
 Vāl-vichohu, 216n.
 Vāmana . . . Ēḷāyiravaṇ, *m.*, 330.
 Vāmana-Nārāyaṇaṇ, *m.*, 428, 429.
 Vāmanapurīśvara, *te.*, 209.
 Vāmanaśaṅkarappādi, *quarter*, 267, 268, 275.
 Vāṅkōppādi, *di.*, 152.
 Vānamahādēvi, *sur. of Kundavvai*, 98, 100, 101.
 Vāṇaṇ Puliyaṇ, *m.*, 28.
 Vāṇaṇ Sōmādan (Sōmanātha), *m.*, 28.
 Vāṇapuram, *vi.*, 89, 91, 92, 104, 105, 106, 107, 188, 109.
 Vāṇasamudram, *vi.*, 22n, 29, 30, 89.
 Vāṇavaṇ, *title*, 55.
 Vāṇavaṇ, *title of Parāntakā Neduñjadaiyaṇ*, 446.
 Vāṇavaṇ, *title of Sadaiyaṇ Raṇadhira*, 446.
 Vāṇavaṇ Mahādēvi or Vāṇavaṇmādēvi, *queen of Sundara-Chōḷa*, [14], 387, 420.
 Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi, *queen of Vīraṇārāyaṇa*, 443, 444, 446, 449, 458, 461.
 Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, *vi.*, 164, 165, 167.
 Vāṇavaṇmahādēvi, *vi.*, 168.
 Vāṇavaṇ-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ, *sur. of Araṅgan Tiruchchirrambalam-Udaiyaṇ*, 38, 39.
 Vāṇavaṇ-Pallavaraiyaṇ, (or Pallavadaraiyaṇ), *ch.*, 38, 39, 41, 43.
 Vāṇavaṇ Pēraraiyaṇ, *sur. of Korraṇ Arunmoḷi*, *m.*, 263, 264.
 Vāṇavāriṣaṇ, *m.*, 83.
 Vanavāsi, *s. a.* Banavāsi, [17], 28, 390, 430, 468.
 Vānavidyādhara, (Bānavidyādhara) Vānavidyā-dhararāya, Vanavidyādhara-Vānarāya, or Vānarāya, *sur. of Vikramāditya I.*, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.
 Vandāḷaivēḷūr-kūṇṇam, *di.*, 429, 437.
 Vandālūr, *vi.*, 48.
 Vandārkuḷal-Nāchchiyār, *goddess*, 384.
 Vandārkuḷali-Umaināgai, *sur. of Vandārkuḷal-Nāchchiyar*, 384.
 Vanḍuvarāpati, *sur. of Śrīmad-Dvārāpati*, 49, 84.
 Vanḍuvarāpati-Emberumāṇ, *te.*, 73, 78, 81, 83, 85, 86.
 Vanḍuvarāpati Pichechar, *m.*, 73.
 Vanḍuvarāpati-Tiruvāykkulatt-Ālvār, *sur. of Rājagōpala-Perumāl*, 77.
 Vandyadēvar, *see* Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar.
 Vaṅga or Vaṅgāḷadēsa, *s. a.* Bengal, [17], 57n, 388, 422, 469.
 Vaṅga-Mulaiyūr, *see* Mulaiyūr.
 Vaṅganar, *people of Vaṅga*, 57.
 Vaṅgāran, *ch.*, 68.
 Vaṅgattaraiyaṇ, *sur. of Vengādan Ādittadēvaṇ*, 190.
 vaṇilam, 216n.
 Vañji, *sur. of Karuvūr*, 31, 444, 446, 449, 450, 461.
 vañji, *tree*, 56.
 vaṅkaṇai, *tree*, 434.
 vaṇmarai, *tree*, 433.
 vaṇṇāra-pārai, *tax*, 311, 391.
 vaṇṇi, *tree*, 430.
 Vāṇṇipēḍu or Vāṇṇivēḍu, *vi.*, 95, 96.
 Vāṇṇiyanāyaṇ or Kāṇṇappan Tūsi-Ādināyagan Nīlaṅgaṇarayaṇ Vāṇṇiyanāyaṇ, *m.*, 83.
 Vāṇṇiya-Rēvaṇ, *sur. of Rēvarasa*, 59, 63.
 Vapushmat, *mythical k.*, 416n.
 Varaguṇa, Varaguṇa-Perumāṇār, or Naṅgai Varaguṇa-Perumāṇār, *princess* 249, 250, 263, 264.
 Varaguṇa I., or Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 442, 443, 446, 448, 449, 457, 460.
 Varaguṇa II., or Varaguṇavarman, *Pāṇḍya k.*, [8], [10], 443, 444, 446, 448, 449, 457, 461.
 Varaguṇamaṅgalam *sur. of Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam*, 450.
 Varagunārājan, *m.*, 45.
 Varāhadēva (or svāmi), *god*, 361, 362, 363.
 Varāhamihira, *astronomer*, [1].
 varambu, *a ridge*, 310.
 Vāraṇ, *ch.*, 37.
 Vāraṇāsi, *sur. of Benares*, 385, 415.
 vārāvaigal, *collection*, 224.
 vāriyam, *explained*, 151n.
 vari, *revenue-registrar*, 162, 292.
 varippottaga-kanakku, *office*, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428, 429, 438.
 varippottagam, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428, 429, 438.
 varyiḷiḍu, *office*, 289, 293, 301, 312, 390, 428, 429, 438.
 Vārkkīyaṇ Dēvaṇ Ponnambalakkūṭṭan, *m.*, 216.
 Vasantatilakā, *metre*, 450.
 Vāsava, *s. a.* Indra, 464.
 vāsi, *an increment*, 139n.
 Vasu, *mythical k.*, 385, 417.

Vasu, 443, 446, 460.
 Vāsudēva, *m.*, 443, 459.
 Vāsudēvaṇ, *m.*, 300.
 Vāṭamūlēśvara, *te.*, 152.
 Vātāpi, *vi.*, [8].
 Vātāpi-konḍa, *sur. of* Narasimhavarman I., [8].
 vaṭāraṇya, *the banyan forest*, 134.
 Vātāraṇyēśvara, *te.*, 134.
 vāṭi or vātaka, *s. a.* pāḍi, 268, 272.
 vatti, 222.
 vattiḷ, *a tray*, 11, 241.
 vaṭṭināḷi, 311, 391.
 vāvu, 279.
 Vāvalūr, *vi.*, 427, 429, 438.
 Vayanasundaraṇ, *sur. of* Tanḱūṭṭamuḍaiyāṇ
 Vannakkaṇ, 288.
 Vayirādhiraḱar, *m.*, 213, 217.
 Vayirāgaram (Vajrākara), *vi.*, 128, 132, 134, 140,
 142, 146, 175.
 vayiram, *diamond*, 297.
 Vayiramēghataṭāka, *tank*, 327.
 Vayiramēgha-vadi, *path*, 332, 333, 334, 337, 341,
 342, 346, 348, 361, 370.
 vāykkēḷvi, *offices*, 289, 292, 307, 308.
 Vēda, 3, 37, 57, 81, 113, 184, 210, 212, 227n,
 233, 241, 256, 269, 273, 275, 422, 458.
 Vēda:—
 Atharva, 233n.
 Baudhāyaṇīya-Grihya, 233n.
 Chhāndōga Sāma, 233n.
 Kalpa, 233n.
 Kāṭhaka, 233n.
 Rig, 233n.
 Talavakāra Sāma, 233n.
 Vājasaneyā, 233n.
 Yajus, 233n.
 Vēdagiriśvara *te.*, 143, 164.
 Vēdagōmapuram, *see* Dvēdaigōmapuram.
 Vēḍāl or Vēḍāl, *vi.*, [8]n, [9], 224, 225.
 vēdi, 51.
 Vēdic, 269, 442, 443, 458, 459.
 vēdinai or vēḍilai, *tax*, 20, 253, 332.
 Vēgavatī, *vi.*, 143n, 186.
 Vēhkā, *sur. of* Vēgavatī, 143n, 186.
 Vēl, *s. a.* Skanda or Kāma, 161n, 218n.
 Vēlaivāṅgi, *m.*, 121.
 Vēlakular or Vēlakulattaraśar, *explained*, 57,
 161n.
 vēlam, 218n.
 Velanāṇḍu, *di.*, 128, 180.
 Vēlāṇ Annāṭṭadigaḷ, *m.*, 312.
 Vēlāṇ Annāvaṇ, *m.*, 308.
 Vēlāṇ Gaṇḍa (or Kaṇḍa) rādichohaṇ, *ch.*, 307, 308.
 Vēlāṇ Kaṇapuram, *m.*, 139.
 Vēlāṇ Kariyāṇ, *m.*, 46.
 Vēlāṇ Kayilāyattāṇ, *m.*, 143.
 Vēlāṇ Kumaraṇ, *m.*, 163.
 Vēlāṇ Kūttāṇ, *m.*, 427, 429.
 Vēlāṇ Malaiginiyaninrāṇ, *m.*, 81, 82.
 Vēlāṇ Madurāntagaṇ, *m.*, 307.
 Vēlāṇ Pērāṇ, *m.*, 73.
 Vēlāṇ Pērāyiramuḍaiyāṇ, *ch.*, 73.
 Vēlāṇ Perumāṇ, *m.*, 438.
 Vēlāṇṇu, *vi.*, 134.

vēli, *land measure*, 44, 46, 77, 97n, 152, 154, 155,
 171, 212, 213, 216, 234, 239, 241, 257, 285,
 298, 300, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312,
 318, 344n, 365n, 377, 379, 381, 426, 469.
 Vēlichchēri, *vi.*, 251, 252, 253, 367, 368.
 vēlikkāsu, *tax*, 117, 143.
 Vēlāikkūḷi, 433.
 Vēlaimūrtti-Perumāṇadigaḷ, *god*, 372.
 Vēlaiyūr-nāḍu, *di.*, 373.
 vēlakkāl, *channel*, 18.
 Vēlakkāṇ-karai, 432.
 Vēlālā, *class*, 252, 253, 372.
 Vēlālūr, *vi.*, 221n.
 vēllāṇ-vagai, *cultivators' portion*, 390, 392, 427,
 428.
 Vēllivāyil, *sur. of* Tiruvēllavāyil, 237, 239.
 Vēllūr, *vi.*, 446.
 Vēlpulattaraśu, *sur. of* Vikkalaṇ, 161.
 Vēlpulav-araśar, *Chālukya kings*, 161n.
 vēluṅgu, *tree*, 431, 433, 434, 436.
 Vēlūr, *vi.*, [10], [11], 231, 232.
 Vēlūrpālayam, *vi.*, 284, 391.
 vēlvēl, *tree*, 433.
 Vēlvēṭṭi-Gōvindahattāṇ, *m.*, 286.
 Vēlvikūḍi, *vi.*, [5], [7]n, 441, 442, 444, 445, 446,
 447, 448, 449, 456n.
 Vēmbarrūr, *vi.*, 444, 448, 450, 462.
 Vēmbil, *s. a.* Vēmbarrūr, 448.
 vēmbu, *tree*, 432.
 Vēna, *k.*, 385, 414.
 Vēnāḍu or Vēṇ, *s. a.* Travancore, 52, 56, 446.
 Vēṇbai, *vi.*, 446.
 Vēṇḍirādivarman, *sur. of* Pārthivēndravarmaṇ,
 [15], 356.
 Vēṅgaḍaṇ Adittadēvaṇ, *m.*, 190.
 Vēṅgai Ilaiya-Rudrakumāra-Kramavittāṇ, *m.*,
 247.
 Vēṅgai-nāḍu (or -nāḍu), *s. a.* Vēṅgi, 5, 6, 7,
 11, 15, 24, 30, 32, 37, 65, 69, 105, 107, 172,
 193, 194, 200, 201, 203.
 Vēṅgāla-nāḍu, *di.*, 31, 33, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45,
 46, 47.
 Vēṅgi, Vēṅgai, Vēṅgi 16,000 or Vēṅgai-maṇḍala,
co., [19], 65, 69, 70, 120, 128, 129, 131, 132,
 179, 180, 182, 184, 194, 196, 203.
 Vēṅgīvallabha, *title*, 208.
 Vēṅkala-nāḍu, *di.*, 254.
 Vēṅkaṭa II., *Vijayanagara k.*, 165.
 Vēṅkaṭēsa-Perumāḷ, *te.*, 208.
 vēṇ-kaṇḍa, vēṇ-koṇḍa or vēṇ-koṇḍa, *explained*,
 49n.
 Vēṅkunra-kōṭṭam, *di.*, 16, 26.
 Vēṇnāḍu, *di.*, 300, 306, 307, 308, 309, 311, 312,
 427, 428, 429, 438.
 Vēṇṇāyil Kūttāṇār, *m.*, 438.
 Vēṇṇeykkūttāṇ, *s. a.* Kṛishṇa, 190n.
 Vēṇṇil, *vi.*, [5].
 Vēṇṇāṇ karpagam, *m.*, 293.
 Vēppaṇjūru, *vi.*, 318.
 Vēppattūr, *vi.*, 257.
 Vēppuram, *vi.*, 204.
 Vēṇṇikkūṇi Nāḷayiravaṇ, *m.*, 11.
 Vēṭchikilāṇ Śōlai Kumaraṇ, *m.*, 428, 429.
 vetti, *forced labour*, 20, 51, 253, 322, 327, 332,
 333, 334, 337, 339, 342, 344, 346, 348, 349,
 353, 355, 360, 371.

- ettippêru, 289, 291, 389, 427.
 idai (Skt. vidhâ), 310.
 idâl, *see* Vedâl.
 idêlvidugu, *Pallava title*, 93, 229n.
 idêlvidugu *or* Vedêlvidugu, *stone weight*, 228, 229.
 idêlvidugu-vadi, *path*, 334, 336, 341, 346, 348.
 idêlvidugu-Vikkiramâditta-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, *vi.*, 92, 93n, 94.
 idîsa, *co.*, 416n.
 idîyan Tirumâlirunjôlai, *m.*, 117.
 idu, *a palace*, 307.
 idugâdalagiya-Perumâl, *ch.*, 208.
 idyâdhara-tôraṇa, 469.
 ihâra, [2], [21], [22].
 Vijaya, *s. a.* Arjuna, 443, 446, 457, 460.
 Vijayabâhu I., *Ceylon k.*, 59.
 Vijaya-Buddhavarman, *Pallava k.*, [6].
 Vijayâditya, *W. Châlukya k.*, 52, 56, 65, 70, 128n.
 Vijayâditya VII., *Eastern Châlukya k.*, 65, 128, 132, 172n, 193, 194, 203.
 Vijaya-Gaṇḍagôpâla, *ch.*, 89, 123.
 Vijaya-Kampavarman, *see* Kampavarman.
 Vijayâlaya, *Chôla k.*, [4], [5], [7], [8], [15], 17n, 196, 229, 267, 268n, 386, 418.
 Vijayâlaya, *sur. of* Mudikonda-Chôla, 58n, 62.
 Vijayanagara, *vi.*, 8, 106, 418n, 422n, 465n.
 Vijaya-Narasimhavarman, *see* Narasimhavarman.
 Vijaya-Nripatungavarman *or* Vijaya-Nripatunga-Vikramavarman, *see* Nripatunga.
 Vijayarâga (Vijayarâghavadêva), *Chêra k.*, [13], 235, 236.
 Vijayarâjendra-maṇḍalam, *co.*, 136, 138.
 Vijayarâjendra-valanâdu, *di.*, 39.
 Vijjavai-Mahâdêviyâr *or* Vajjavaiyâr, *queen*, 373, 374.
 Vijñapti, 389, 426, 443, 444, 459.
 Vikatavâdava, *sur. of* Râjasimha III., 444, 446, 461.
 Vikki, Vikkalan *or* Vikkilan, *s. a.* Vikramâditya VI., 32, 37, 52, 56, 118, 119, 129, 130, 144, 147, 161, 164n, 174, 176, 198, 200, 201.
 Vikkamabâhu, *Ceylon k.*, 52, 53, 56, 59.
 Vikki-Annan, *ch.*, [8], 221.
 Vikkiramâdittan, *m.*, 113.
 Vikkirama-Sôlan-Ulâ, *Tamiḷ poem*, 32, 113, 114, 129n, 130, 131, 179, 180, 181, 191.
 Vikramâbharana-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, *sur. of* Ukkal, 2, 4, 6, 8, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21.
 Vikrama-Chôla, *sur. of* Râjendra-Chôla I., 388, 424.
 Vikrama - Chôla, Chôda, Chôladêva *or* Sôladêva), *Chôla k.*, 31, 32, 49, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79n, 131, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 186, 189, 196.
 Vikrama-Chôla, *sur. of* Parântaka I., [13].
 Vikrama-Chôla-Sambuvarâyan, *sur. of* Sengēni Ammaiyan Kannuḍaipperumân, 208.
 Vikramâdittan, *m.*, 104.
 Vikramâditya I., *or* Vikramâdittavânarâya, *Bâna k.*, 88, 92, 93n, 94, 97, 99, 103.
 Vikramâditya II., *Bâna k.*, 90, 92, 99.
 Vikramâditya VI., *W. Châlukya k.*, [16], 32, 52, 57n, 65, 69n, 115, 118, 128n, 129, 130, 132, 140, 144, 180, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 201n, 203.
 Vikramakêsarî, *Kodumbâlûr ch.*, 285.
 Vikramâṅkadêvacharita, *Sanskrit poem* 65, 115, 129, 130, 131n, 132n, 194.
 Vikrama-Pândya (*or* Pându), *Ceylon k.*, 52, 53, 56.
 Vikrama-Pândya, *Pândya k.*, 205, 206, 212, 218.
 Vikramasimhapuram, *sur. of* Nellore, 207.
 Vikrama-Sôla-Sambuvarâyan, *sur. of* Sengēni Ammaiyan Kannuḍaipperumân, 122.
 Vikukshi, *mythical k.*, 384, 413.
 Vilâḍattaraiyan, *m.*, 48.
 vilai-âvanam (*or* srâvanam), *see* âvanam.
 Vilakkaṇ Kaḍanâḍan, *m.*, 362.
 Vilakku-vâykkal, *channel*, 325.
 Vilâ-nâdu, *di.*, [13].
 Vilâṅṇḍi, *vi.*, 379.
 Vilattûr, *vi.*, 94, 373.
 Viliṇam, *vi.*, 130, 444, 446, 450, 461.^a
 Viliṇattarayan, *m.*, 45.
 Vilinda, *s. a.* Viliṇam, 387, 421.
 Villaiappāṅgilān Niraiyan Araṅgaṇ, *m.*, 312.
 Villava *or* Villavan, *s. a.* Chêra, 56, 57, 72, 81, 119, 218, 460.
 Villavan, *s. a.* Pallava, 447n.
 Villavan-Mâdêviyâr, *queen of* Pârthivêndra, 343, 368, 369, 370.
 Villavan-Mâdêviyâr, *queen of* Vira-Chôladêva, 120.
 Villavan-Mahâdêviyâr, *queen of* Parântaka I., [12], 244, 245.
 Villavan-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur. of* Kaṇavadi Pichchan, 118.
 Villavan Mûvêndavêlân, *sur. of* Mâyân Kânjan 281, 282.
 Villava-Râjarâjan, *sur. of* Vîrapattiran (Vîrabhadra) Tillai-Viḍaṅgaṇ, 38.
 Villavarâyan, *sur. of* Munaiyan Arumolidêvan, 168, 171, 172.
 Villipâkkam, *vi.*, 358.
 Villivalam, *vi.*, 143n.
 Viḷuppâdarâyan, *m.*, 47.
 Viḷuppâdhirâjar, *m.*, 213.
 Vilvêli, 446, 447.
 Vimalâditya, *Kulûta ch.*, 388n.
 Vimalâditya, *E. Châlukya k.*, [21], 126, 196.
 vimâna, *central shrine*, 280, 300.
 Vîmayan, *ch.*, 68.
 Vinayamahâdêvî, *queen of* Vajrahasta III., 106.
 Vinnagar *or* Vinnagaram, *a Viṣṇu temple*, 49n.
 Vinnam, *vi.*, 446.
 Vinnamaṅgalam, *vi.*, 193.
 vinnappam=vijñapti, 444, 462.
 Vinnavanârâyana-bhaṭṭan, *m.*, 39.
 Vippêdu, *vi.*, 138n.
 Vîrabarâna-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur. of* Venṇân Kaṇpagam, *m.*, 293.
 Vîrabhadradêva, *shrine of*, 136, 139.
 Vîrabharâna-Mûvêndavêlân, *sur. of* Araiyan Kaṇpagam, *m.*, 307, 308.
 Vîrabhûpati, *Vijayanagara k.*, 465n.
 Vira-Champa Chôla *k.*, 89.
 Vira-Chôda *or* Vira-Chôla (Sôla), *E. Châlukya k.*, 120, 125, 128, 131, 132, 156n, 178, 179, 180, 196.
 Vira-Chôla *or* Vira-Sôlan, *Chôla prince*, 30, 47, 62, 89, 195.

Vīra-Chōla, *sur. of* Vīrarājendra I., 195, 197, 198n, 199.
 Vīra-Chōla, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Vīra-Kēraḷa, *Chēra k.*, 206, 218.
 Vīra-Kēraḷa, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 52, 56, 218.
 Vīrakēsarin, *k.*, 37.
 Vīrakīrti, *title of* Parāntaka I., [13], 242, 243.
 virāma, 4, 50, 90, 233n, 237n, 243n, 323, 382n.
 Vīramahādēvi, *queen of* Rājendra-Chōla I., [21].
 Vīramē tunaiy-āgavum, *introductory words of the inscriptions of* Vīrarājendra, 192, 193.
 Vīranārasimhadēva or Vīranārasimhadēva Yādavarāya, *see* Simha.
 Vīranārāyaṇa, *Chēra k.*, 221n.
 Vīranārāyaṇa, *Pāṇḍya k.*, 443, 444, 446, 447, 449, 459, 460.
 Vīranārāyaṇa, *sur. of* Parāntaka I., [13].
 Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimangalam, *vi.*, 427, 428.
 Vīranārāyaṇa Brahmapriyaṇ, *m.*, 336.
 Vīranārāyaṇiyār, *queen of* Uttama-Chōla, 283, 284.
 Vīra-Pāṇḍya, *Pāṇḍya k.*, [14], [15], [16], 21, 205, 206, 212, 215, 218, 323, 325, 333, 334, 335, 336, 338, 339, 340, 341, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 352, 353, 362, 363, 368, 373, 374, 375, 376, 387, 469, 470.
 Vīrapattiraṇ (Vīrabhadra) Tillai-Viḍaṅgaṇ, *m.*, 38.
 Vīrappāḍi, *quarter of* Conjeeveram 267, 268, 275.
 Vīrarājendra I., Vīrarājendra-Chōla or Vīrarājendradēva, *Chōla k.*, [4], [12], [21], 30, 31, 32, 33, 38, 39, 49, 58, 59, 62n, 64, 65, 69n, 70, 106, 113, 114, 115, 117, 128, 129, 131, 132, 189n, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201n, 202, 203, 204, 209n, 265n, 465, 466.
 Vīrarājendradēva II. or Vīrarājendra-Chōladēva, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva III., 43, 205.
 Vīrarājendra-Brahmādirāyar, *m.*, 38.
 Vīrarājendra-chaturvēdimangalam, *sur. of* Perumbākkam, 198, 199, 200.
 Vīrarājendra (or Vīrarājendra-Kulōttuṅga) Jayamurināḍālvāṇ, *sur. of* Araiyaṇ Rājārājaṇ, 38, 39, 41, 43.
 Vīrarājendra-Maḷavarāyar, *sur. of* Udayadvākaṇ-Kūttāḍuvāṇ, 38, 39, 41.
 Vīrarājendra-Maṅgalappērariyaṇ, *ch.*, 38, 39.
 Vīrarākṣaṣa-Yādavarāja, *sur. of* Simha, 208.
 Vīra-Śālāmēgaṇ, *sur. of* Jagatipāla, 52, 53, 56, 59, 63.
 Vīraśikhāmaṇi-Mūvēndavēlār, *sur. of* Ambalavaṇ Tiruppondaiyār, 136, 138, 139.
 Vīra-Śōlachchēri, *quarter*, 177.
 Vīraśōla Ilāṅgōvēlār, *Koḍumbālvār ch.*, 230, 231.
 Vīra-Śōla Ilāṅgōvēlār, *sur. of* Rājārājaṇ-Paranripārākṣaṣaṇār, 117, 134.
 Vīra-Śōla-maṇḍalam, *sur. of* Koṅgu, 31.
 Vīra-Śōlanallūr, *sur. of* Perumbākkam, 198n.
 Vīra-Śōlanallūr, *sur. of* Āndaṇūr, 47, 48.
 Vīra-Śōlaṇ-Tirumadaivilāgam, *quarter of* Karuvūr, 47, 48.
 Vīra-Śōla-Pallavaraiyaṇ, *m.*, 136.
 Vīra-Śōlasēri, *quarter of* Perumbēr, 202, 204.

Vīra-Śōla-Vinnagar or Vīraśōla-Vinnagar-Ālvār, *te.*, 152, 155.
 Vīraśōliyam, *Tamiḷ grammar*, 197.
 Vīraśrikāmugavadi, *road*, 246, 247, 249, 279, 280.
 Virāta, *s. a.*, Southern Berar, [19].
 Virattāṇa or Virattāṇēsvara, *te.*, 199, 281, 282.
 Virāvali, *vi.*, 73, 74, 78.
 Virōvallāḷadēva, *Hoysala k.*, 31.
 Viriñchipuram, *vi.*, 89n.
 Virāta, *s. a.* Berar, [18].
 Virōdhābhāsa, *alaṅkāra*, 413n, 415n, 419n.
 Virōṇukka Maṇṇāḍi, *sur. of* Kumaraṇ, *m.*, 350.
 Virpaṇai, 264.
 Virpēdu-nāḍu, *di.*, 138n.
 Virpiḍi, *tax.*, 311, 391, 436.
 Virrurund-Ālvār, *sur. of* Lakshmīnārāyaṇa, 173.
 Virrurundāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 87.
 Virrurunda-Perumāl, *te.*, 8.
 Virudarāja, *sur. of* Vikramāditya VI., 129, 130n.
 Virudarājabhayaṁkara, *sur. of* Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva I., 130, 152.
 Virudarāja (or Birudarāja) bhayaṁkara-valanāḍu (or valanāḍu), *sur. of* Rājārāja-valanāḍu, 152, 162n, 190, 209.
 Virudarājabhayaṁkara-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, *ch.*, 152, 154.
 Virupaṇṇa, *Vijayanagara k.*, 465n.
 Viśaiyavāddai, *sur. of* Bezvāḍa, 65, 69.
 Viśāla, *mythical k.*, 416n.
 viṣam or viyam (Skt. vyaya), 265, 275, 318.
 Viṣaṇ, *a servant*, 265n.
 Viśaharabhōga, 352, 353.
 Viṣṇu or Mahāviṣṇu, *god*, 1, 18, 49, 50, 86, 87, 127, 134, 143n, 152, 158, 185, 207, 218, 233, 253, 266, 269n, 272, 275n, 340, 341, 342, 345n, 356, 372, 377, 385, 389, 413n, 415, 419, 420, 426, 439, 441, 445, 446, 457, 458.
 Viṣṇu, *m.*, 443, 459.
 Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭaṇ, *m.*, 81.
 Viṣṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka, *god*, 250.
 Viṣṇugriham, *a temple of* Viṣṇu, 1.
 Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, *work*, 413n, 414n, 415n.
 Viṣṇurāja, *sur. of* Viṣṇuvardhana III., 243.
 Viṣṇu Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Kramavittaṇ, *m.*, 73.
 Viṣṇuvardhana III., *E. Chālukya k.*, 243.
 Viṣṇuvardhana, *sur. of* Vijayāditya I., 52, 65, 128n.
 Viṣṇu, 227, 267, 265.
 Viśiṣṭas, *distinguished men*, 20, 232, 329.
 Viśvajit, *mythical k.*, 385, 417.
 Vittār, *vi.*, 293.
 Vriddhāchalam, *vi.*, 152.
 Vrindāvana, 324.
 Vriṣabha-vāhana, *image of*, 301, 321.
 vritti, *land given for service*, 46.
 Vyāghrakētu, *sur. of* Chitraratha, [4], 385, 417.
 Vyākaraṇa-maṇḍapa, 337.
 Vyākaraṇa-Śāstra, 337.
 Vyākhyāvritti, 338.
 Vyāsa, *sage*, 416n.
 vyavasthā (or vyavasthai), *conditions*, 311, 391, 392, 437.

W

Wālājāpet, *vi.*, 95.
 Wandiwash, *vi.*, 1.
 Western ghāts, *mo.*, 144, 147n.

Y

Yādavarāya (*or* rāja), *title*, 208.

Yajñanârâyana-Kramavittan, *m.*, 73.

Yamunâ, *ri.*, [19].

Yasôvarman (Dasavarman), *W. Châlukya k.*, 58n.

Year of reign, [7], [8], [9], [10], [11], [12], [14], [15], [16], [17], [18], [21], 1 to 9, 11 to 21, 23 to 31, 38, 39, 41 to 52, 57, 58, 63 to 65, 70 to 79, 81 to 88, 90 to 92, 94, 101, 102, 104 to 109, 111 to 114, 117 to 123, 125, 132, 134, 135, 138 to 140, 142, 143, 148, 151, 152, 156, 158, 159, 162 to 164, 167, 168, 171 to 174, 176 to 182, 185, 186, 189, 191 to 195, 198 to 200,

202 to 210, 212 to 215, 217, 222 to 239, 241, to 264, 266, 267, 272, 276 to 289, 291 to 295, 300, 306 to 308, 311, 312, 323 to 327, 329, 330, 332 to 383, 389, 390, 392, 425 to 429, 437, 439, 443, 444, 445, 448, 449, 459, 462, 465, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 476, 477, 479.

Yedatore, *vi.*, 390, 465.

Yôgêśvara, shrine of 137.

Yôgini, shrine of, 137.

Yudhishtira, *epic-hero*, 416n.

Yûpa, [7].

Yuvanâśva *mythical solar k.*, 385, 414.

Yuvarāja, 132, 194.

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M A D R A S :

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, AND PUBLISHED BY THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH, CALCUTTA

1929

P R E F A C E

THIS volume of *South-Indian Inscriptions* consists of four parts of which the first, containing the texts, translations and short introductions of 63 inscriptions secured from Ukkal, Melpadi, Karuvur, Manimangalam and Tiruvallam, was issued by Dr. Hultzsch in 1899. The second part published by the same scholar in 1903 dealt with 25 mediæval Chola inscriptions and contained a full account of the political history of the period covered by the reigns of the four Chola kings Virarajendra I, Kulottunga I, Vikrama-Chola and Kulottunga III. In 1920, Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri brought out the third part of the volume with texts and translations of 117 important Chola inscriptions belonging to the reigns of almost all the members of the Vijayalaya line from Aditya I to Rajendra-Chola I excepting Rajaraja I, having in view the object of writing a complete account of the Cholas in the concluding part. The special feature of this part is that it includes in it a critical edition of the Tiruvalangadu plates discovered in 1906 and briefly reviewed by Mr. Venkayya in his *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for that year. The plates furnish not only a complete genealogy of the Cholas but also give more detailed information about individual kings than are narrated in the Leyden plates, the only authority till then for Chola history. As an account of the time of Rajaraja I had been given by Mr. Venkayya in his introduction to Volume II and as the part played by the mediæval Cholas had been sketched by Dr. Hultzsch in Part II of this volume, it remained only to notice the history of the early members of the Vijayalaya line including the reign of Rajendra-Chola I. This account is now given as an introduction to the volume and is appended to Part IV which contains two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur and some minor Chola copper-plates. It is a matter for regret that Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, who undertook to edit the part was not spared to see the final issue of it. The Chola history narrated in the introduction and the edition of the two Pandya grants from Sinnamanur will be remembered as his last epigraphical contribution. He left to me the verification of the index of the first three parts, the incorporation in it of the references to Part IV and introduction, the drawing up of the addenda and corrigenda, the editing of the minor Chola copper-plates and the revision of the proofs.

To be consistent with the earlier parts in the system of transliteration, the old diacritical marks have been employed in Part IV and introduction.

OOTACAMUND, }
19th March 1928. }

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR.

CONTENTS

PART I.

INSCRIPTIONS AT UKKAL, MELPADI, KARUVUR, MANIMANGALAM AND TIRUVALLAM.

	PAGE
No. I.—Inscriptions in the Vishnu Temple at Ukkal	1
1 On the north wall of the shrine	2
2 On the north and west walls of the same shrine	4
3 On the west wall of the same shrine	5
4 On the same wall	6
5 On the south wall of the same shrine	8
6 On the same wall	9
7 Do.	11
8 Do.	13
9 On the north wall of the mandapa	14
10 On the same wall	15
11 Do.	17
12 On the west wall of the same mandapa	18
13 On the south wall of the same mandapa	20
14 On the same wall	21
No. II.—Inscriptions at Melpadi	22
15 On the base of the Cholesvara shrine	23
16 On the same base	24
17 On the north wall of the same shrine	26
18 On the same wall	27
19 On the south wall of the Somanathesvara shrine	29
No. III.—Inscriptions in the Pasupatisvara temple at Karuvur	30
20 On the south wall of the Pasupatisvara shrine	31
21 On the same wall	39
22 On the south wall of the shrine of the goddess	41
23 On the outside of the second prakara, right of entrance	43
24 Do. left of entrance	45
25 On the north wall of the Pasupatisvara shrine	46
26 On the outside of the second prakara, left of entrance	47
No. IV.—Inscriptions at Manimangalam	48
27 On the south wall of the shrine in the Rajagopala-Perumal temple	50
28 On the north and west walls of the same shrine	51
29 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	58
30 On the north wall of the mandapa in the same temple	64
31 On the west wall of the same mandapa	71
32 On the south wall of the same mandapa	74
33 On the west wall of the same mandapa	75
34 On the same wall	77
35 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	79
36 On the south wall of the mandapa in the same temple	82
37 On the east wall of the same mandapa	84
38 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	85
39 On the east wall of the mandapa in the same temple	85
40 On the outside of the east wall of the inner prakara of the same temple	86
41 On the east wall of the Dharmesvara temple	87
No. V.—Inscriptions at Tiruvallam	88
42 On a boulder near Tiruvallam	90
43 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the Bilvanathesvara temple	92
44 On the same wall	95
45 On the south wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	96
46 On a stone built into the floor of the Bilvanathesvara temple	97
47 On the west wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	98
48 On the west wall of the same shrine	100

	PAGE
49 On the south wall of the same shrine	101
50 On the west wall of the same shrine	103
51 On the north wall of the same shrine	104
52 On the west and south walls of the same shrine	106
53 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	107
54 On the north wall of the Nakulesvara shrine in the same temple	109
55 On the west wall of the Bilvanathesvara shrine	111
56 On the south wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	113
57 On the north wall of the same mandapa	114
58 On the base of the verandah round the Bilvanathesvara shrine	118
59 On the south wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	120
60 On the wall to the north of the tank in the same temple	120
61 On the same wall	121
62 On the north wall of the maha-mandapa in the same temple	122
63 On the west wall of the kitchen in the same temple	123

PART II.

INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRARAJENDRA I, KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I, VIKRAMA-CHOLA AND KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

No. VI.—Inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola I	125
64 Inscription at Tiruvorriyur	132
65 Do. at Tiruvalangadu	134
66 Do. at Kolar	136
67 Do. at Somangalam	139
68 Do. in the Pandava-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	140
69 Do. at Tirukkalukkunram	143
70 Do. at Srirangam	148
71 Do. at Kilappaluvur	152
72 Do. at Tiruvidaimarudur	155
73 Do. at Cholapuram	159
74 Do. in the Pandava-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	163
75 Do. at Tirukkalukkunram	164
76 Do. in the Jambukesvara temple	168
77 Do. at Kavantandalam	172
78 Do. at Perumber	173
No. VII.—Inscriptions of Vikrama-Chola	178
79 Inscription at Tirumalavadi	182
80 Do. in the Arulala-Perumal temple at Conjeeveram	186
No. VIII.—Inscriptions of Virarajendra I	190
81 Inscription at Tirunamanallur	197
82 Do. at Kilur	199
83 Do. at Tindivanam	200
84 Do. at Perumber	202
No. IX.—Inscriptions of Kulottunga-Chola III	204
85 Inscription at Tirumanikuli	209
86 Do. at Chidambaram	210
87 Do. do.	213
88 Do. at Srirangam	217

PART III.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYA I, PARANTAKA I, MADIRAIKONDA RAJAKESARI-VARMAN, PARANTAKA II, UTTAMA-CHOLA, PARTHIVENDRAVARMAN, ADITYA-KARIKALA AND THE TIRUVALANGADU PLATES.

No. X.—Inscriptions of the time of Rajakesarivarman Aditya I	221
89 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ghritasthanesvara temple at Tilla- sthanam	221
90 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jnanaparamesvara temple at Tirumeyjnanam	222
91 On a pillar lying in the mandapa in a street at Tirunagesvaram	223

	PAGE
92 On a boulder in front of a natural cave at Vedal	224
93 On a slab set up in front of the Silaiyamman temple at Nerkunam	225
94 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Airavatesvara temple at Niyamam	226
No. XI.—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman Parantaka I—	
95 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the Abhiramesvara shrine at Tiru- mattur	227
96 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Chandra- sekbara temple at Tiruchchendurai	228
97 On a rock to the left of the painted cave at Tirumalai near Polur	229
98 On a pillar in the inner enclosure of the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakkondan- Tirumalai	230
99 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kharapurisvara temple at Tiruppar- kadal	231
100 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkala- vur	233
101 On the east wall of the rock-cut shrine in the Melaikkoyil temple at Kudumiyamalai, left of entrance	234
102 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkala- vur	235
103 On a slab built into the verandah round the central shrine of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	235
104 On the same slab	236
105 On another slab built into the same verandah	237
106 On the rock at the entrance into the central shrine of the Narasingapperumal temple at Anaimalai	239
107 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiruvialur	242
108 On a slab built into the floor of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	242
109 On the north wall of the Lakshminarayana-Perumal temple at Sinnamanur	243
110 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkalavur	244
No. XII.—Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman, Madirakonda Rajakesarivarman or Gandara- ditya—	
111 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	246
112 On the same wall	248
113 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ghritasthanesvara temple at Tilla- sthanam	249
114 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Dandisvara temple at Velachcheri	250
115 On a pillar lying to the south of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	251
116 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Dandisvara temple at Velachcheri	252
117 On the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	253
118 In the same place	254
No. XIII.—Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman Sundara-Chola Parantaka II—	
119 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiru- visalur	255
120 In the same place	256
121 Do.	257
122 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Vedapurisvara temple at Tirukkalittattai	258
No. XIV.—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman Uttama-Chola—	
123 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Madhuvanesvara temple at Tirukkalavur	259
124 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiru- vidaimarudur	260
125 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	261
126 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Chandra- sekbara temple at Tiruchchendurai	262
127 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Ghritasthanesvara temple at Tillasthanam	263
128 Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chola	264
129 On the west and south walls of the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	276
130 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Umamahesvara temple at Koneriraja- puram	277
131 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	276
132 On the north base of the second pillar in the rock-cut cave in the Pundarikaksha- Perumal temple at Tiruvellarai	278
133 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	279
134 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Virattanesvara temple at Kandiyur	281

	PAGE
135 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakondan-Tirumalai	282
136 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kalyanasundaresvara temple at Nallur	282
137 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	283
138 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiruvidaimarudur	284
139 On the south wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine in the Vatatirthanatha temple at Andanallur	285
140 On the south wall of the Ganesa shrine in the Nedungalanatha temple at Tirunedungalam	286
141 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullai-vayil	286
142 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Manikanthesvara temple at Tirumalpuram	288
143 On a slab built into the floor of the verandah round the central shrine in the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	293
144 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Apatsahayesvara temple at Aduturai	294
145 On a pillar lying to the south of the tank in front of the Adhipurisvara temple at Tiruvorriyur	295
146 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Umamahesvara temple at Konerirajapuram	295
147 On the same wall	296
148 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Sivayoganathasvamin temple at Tiruvisalur	297
149 On the south wall of the central shrine in the Siddhanathasvamin temple at Tirunaraiyur	297
150 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Adimulesvara temple at Tiruppalatturai	299
151 On the south and east walls of the central shrine in the Umamahesvarasvamin temple at Konerirajapuram	300
151-A On the east and north walls of the same shrine	312
No. XV.—Inscriptions of Parthivendravarman or Parthivendradhipativarman, who took the head of Vira-Pandya—	
152 On the south-east wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	323
153 On the south wall of the same temple	324
154 On the north wall of the same temple	325
155 On the west wall of the Madariamman temple in the same village	326
156 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Kharapurisvara temple at Tirupparkadal	327
157 On the west wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	330
158 On the east wall of the same temple	333
159 On the north wall of the same temple	335
160 On the same wall	336
161 Do.	337
162 Do.	338
163 Do.	339
164 Do.	340
165 On the south wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	342
166 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	343
167 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	343
168 On the same wall	345
169 Do.	346
170 Do	347
171 On the south wall of the Subrahmanya temple at Uttaramallur	348
172 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	349
173 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	350
174 On a slab built into the floor of the mandapa in front of the central shrine of the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullaivayil	351
175 On a rock in the backyard of a private house at Tayanur	351
176 On a rock near the Siva temple in the same village	352
177 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	352
178 On a rock near the ruined Siva temple at Tayanur	354
179 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	355
180 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	356
181 On a slab lying in the courtyard of the Tiruvalisvara temple at Padi (Tiruvalidayam)	357
182 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	359
183 On the south wall of the same temple	360
184 On the west wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam	361

	PAGE
185 On the north base of the central shrine in the Varaha-Perumal temple at Tiruvadandai	361
186 On the same base	362
187 On a stone at Anaikkattattur	363
188 On a slab set up in the Tiruvalisvara temple at Kattur	364
189 On a stone built into the west wall of the Ullangaikulunda Nayanar temple at Maduramangalam	365
190 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Jalanathesvara temple at Takkolam ..	366
191 On the south wall of the Selliyamman temple at Velachcheri	367
192 On the north wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple at Tirumalpuram	368
193 On the north wall of the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple at Uttaramallur	368
194 On the south wall of the Sundaravarada-Perumal temple in the same village ..	370
195 On the north wall of the same temple	372
196 On a slab built into the floor of the mandapa in front of the Latamadhyamba shrine in the Masilamanisvara temple at Tirumullaivayil	373
197 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Manikanthesvara temple at Tirumalpuram	373
198 On the north wall of the central shrine in the ruined Vishnu temple in the same village	374
No. XVI.—Inscriptions of Parakesarivarman (Aditya II Karikala) who took the head of Vira-Pandya or the Pandya (king).	
199 On a pillar in the inner enclosure of the Ujjivanathasvamin temple at Uyyakkondan-Tirumalai	375
200 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	376
201 On the same wall	377
202 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Mahalingasvamin temple at Tiruvidaimarudur	378
203 On the same wall	380
204 On the north wall of the central shrine in the Nagesvarasvamin temple at Kumbakonam	382
205 The Tiruvalangadu copper-plates of the sixth year of Rajendra-Chola I	383

PART IV.

No. XVII.—Copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur, Tirukkalar and Tiruchchengodu—	
206 Two Pandya copper-plate grants from Sinnamanur	441
Five Chola copper-plates from Tirukkalar—	
207 Tirukkalar Plate of Rajendra-Chola I	465
208 Do. of Rajadhiraja I	469
209 Do. of Kulottunga-Chola I	470
210 Do. of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rajarajadeva	472
211 Do. of Kulottunga-Chola III	473
Two Chola copper-plate grants from Tiruchchengodu—	
212 Tiruchchengodu Plate of Rajakesarivarman	476
213 Do. do.	477

LIST OF PLATES

No.	To face page
I. Ukkal Inscription of Rajakesarivarman	2
II. Do. of Rajaraja I	4
III. Do. of Kampavarman and Parantaka I	19
IV. Melpadi Inscription of Rajaraja I	26
V. Tiruvallam Inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman	91
VI. Tirukkalukkunram Inscription of Kulottunga-Chola I	166
VII. Tillasthanam and Nerkunam Inscriptions of Rajakesarivarman	225
VIII. Anaimalai Inscription of Madiraikonda Parakesarivarman	240
Between pages	
IX. Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chola	270-271
X. Do. do.	272-273
To face page	
XI. Sculpture on the south wall of the Siva temple at Konerirajapuram with Inscription	296
XII. Uttaramallur Inscription of Parthivendradhipativarman	370
Between pages	
XIII. Tiruvalangadu Plates of Rajendra-Chola	392-393
XIV. Do. do.	396-397
XV. Do. do.	398-399
XVI. Do. do.	400-401
XVII. Do. do.	404-405
XVIII. Do. do.	410-411
XIX. Do. do.	412-413
XX. The bigger Sinnamanur Plates	452-453
XXI. Do. do.	454-455
To face page	
XXII. The smaller Sinnamanur Plates	463
XXIII. Tirukkalar Plate of Rajendra-Chola I	467
XXIV. Do. of Rajadhiraja I	470
XXV. Do. of Kulottunga	471
XXVI. Do. of Rajarajadeva	472
XXVII. Do. of Kulottunga III	474
XXVIII. Tiruchchengodu Plate of Rajakesarivarman	476
Between pages	
XXIX. Do. do.	478-479

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

Page 5, line 1.—For “beginning” read “adjoining.”

„ 5 „ 3.—For “the road to (*the temple of*) Śaṅkaranârâyana” read “the road (*called*) Śaṅkaranârâyanaṇṇavadi.”

Lines 1 to 3 may be altered as follows:—“The land partitioned on the north (*so as to*) adjoin the land of Râghavadêva and situated to the west of (*the road called*) Śaṅkaranârâyanaṇṇavadi and to the north of (*the channel called*) Tarutambavâykkâl.”

For note 1 on this page, substitute “அடைய” means “to meet or adjoin.”

„ 6, line 8 of Translation.—For “Odimukki[bhrân]ta-Kramavittan” read “Bhrânta-Kramavittan of Ôdimûkkil.”

„ 6, line 17 of „ —For “Muḍumbai Śandirâchecha-Tambiyum-Uḷittâr” read “Śandirâchechan of Muḍumbai, (*his*) younger brother and others.”

„ 7, text-line 3.—For தன்னெழில் read தன்னெழில்.

„ 9, line 4.—The phrase “எரிக்கட்டி” has been split into எரி and கட்டி and translated “shall close (*the sluice of*) the tank (*to collect water for irrigation*)” but it may be better to split எரிக்கட்டி into எரிக்கு and அட்டி and translate it as “giving (*it*) for (*the maintenance of*) the tank.”

„ 13, line 2.—For “per day” which is the rendering of “மெய்வேறு” substitute “each or individually” and strike out the note.

„ 17, text-line 1.—Insert a hyphen at the end of the line.

„ 17 „ 2.—For கூறு read கூற்று.

„ 18 „ 8.—For செறுவிற் read செறுவிற்.

„ 18, No. 12, line 3.—Omit the words “for burning” in line 10 of paragraph 1 of translation.

„ 18.—For “A.D. 900 to 940” read “A.D. 907 to 953.”

Introduction of No. 12.

As No. 11 registers the general order of the assembly regarding the grant of the village of Śôdiyambâkkam made in the 16th year of the King and as No. 12 states “that in accordance with that grant, the assembly refrained from paying the customary rights which were (thereby) left to the temple”, the latter record seems to have been issued subsequent to the former.

„ 20, line 7.—For “store-room” read “central shrine.”

„ 20, translation of line 9.—For “(If) a crime (*or*) sin becomes public, the god (*i.e.* temple authorities) alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village (*for it*)” read “The dēva (*i.e.*, the temple authorities) alone shall realise by levying *kurra-dôsham* and *manrupâdu* from the inhabitants of these villages” and enter the following notes:—

1 With உணர்த்து cf. தண்டி “demanding.”

2 குற்றதோஷம் seems to mean “fine imposed on persons for defaults.”

3 மன்றுபாடு is also a similar fine imposed by the village assembly.

For note 9 enter “மெய்வேறு” means “individually.”

„ 24, line 13.—For “resting-place” read “tomb-shrine.”

„ 25, line 1f of Translation.—For “as a resting-place for the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “as a tomb-shrine of Ârrûr-tuñjinadêva *i.e.* the king who died at Ârrûr.”

„ 27, line 2f.—For “the king who fell asleep at Ârrûr” read “the king who died at Ârrûr.”

„ 28, Translation, l. 9.—Change “the crown of Sundara” into “the beautiful crown.”

Page 37, line 20.—For “Pōtta[ra]yaṇ” read “Pottayaṇ.”

„ 41.—Add to the introduction of No. 22 the following :—

“It has, however, to be noted that some of the signatories have the name ‘Kulōttuṅga’ prefixed to their surnames and we do not know of any Kulōttuṅga before the first of that name who occupied the Chōla throne after Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva.”

„ 50, text-line 8.—For எ[ற*]ச்சொறு and வெய்தி read எச்சொறு and வெய்தி.

„ „ For note 1 substitute—“As Lōkamahādēvi - chaturvēdimāṅgalam, which must have been called after Lōkamahādēvī, one of the queens of Rājārāja I, is mentioned in this inscription, the Rājakēsarivarman of this record may either be Rājārāja I or one of his successors who bore that title.

„ 55, top line.—For வெழ்குலர்சளுக்கியர் read வெழ்குலச்சளுக்கியர்.

„ 57, translation of line 6.—For “Vēlakular, Śaḷukkiyar (Chalukya)” read “the Śaḷukkiyar (Chalukyas) of the Vēl family:”—see note 7 on p. 161.

„ 85.—For முதலாக in note 4, read முதல்திற்கா: and in Translation, line 7, for “on interest” read “as fixed deposit.”

„ 90, Introduction to No. 42, line 3 end.—For “Western Gaṅga” read “Pallava.”

„ 92, translation of line 11.—For “He who destroys this (*charity*) shall incur the sin of one who kills the great men who are permanent (*members*)² of the assembly” read “He who destroys this (*Charity*) shall incur the sin of killing the seven hundred of the *ghaṭika*.”

„ 105, translation, line 9.—For “Śaṁkaradēva, (the son of)” read “Tiruvaiyaṇ Śaṁkaradēva”: and remove “—Tiruvaiyaṇ” in the last line but one.

„ 107, Introduction to No. 53, lines 3–7.—For “Sōmanātha (*the son of*) Śaṁkaradēva whose . . . Rājārāja I (51). The same epithets . . . spelling” read “Śaṁkaradēva Sōmanātha to whose name are prefixed the same epithets as those that precede the name of Tiruvaiyaṇ Śaṁkaradēva occurring in No. 51 with nearly the same mistakes in spelling.”

„ 108, translation, line 2.—Delete the words “Sōmanātha (*the son of*).”

„ „ 4.—After “Śaṁkaradēva” add “Sōmanātha.”

„ 117, line 12.—For “Pulāṅguḍai” read “Pulāṅguḍi.”

„ „ line 36.—For “Ḵaiyāṅkuḍai” read “Ḵaiyāṅkuḍi.”

„ „ note 7.—For “taṇḍalil - akkai” read “taṇḍal - ilakkai.”

„ 128, line 2.—For “by defeating the king of Dhārā at Śakkarakōṭṭam” read “by defeating Dhārā-varaiṣaṇ (i. Śe., Dhārāvarsha) at Śakkarakōṭṭam.”

„ 130, line 16f.—Omit the words “i.e. the western hill country (Malabar) and the ancestors of the Nairs of the present day.”

„ 132, line 13f.—For “from the king of Dhārā” substitute “from Dhārāvaraiṣaṇ (i.e., Dhārāvarsha).”

„ 143, note 4.—For “whichpa ses” read “which passes.”

„ „ note 10.—For “ērachchōṟu” read “echchōṟu.”

„ 163, line 5.—For “The chief (*kōṇ*) of this village, Rājārājaṇ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Nāṇjināḍ-Uḍaiyaṇ” read “Kōṇ Rāja-rājaṇ *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷa-Nāṇjināḍ-Uḍaiyaṇ of this village.”

„ 177, note 2.—For “With *magaṇmai* ‘the daughtership’ compare the similar term *magaṇmai* ‘the sonship’ in No. 57 above, text-line 9” read “*Magaṇmai* or *magaṇmai*

is a revenue term (equivalent to *magamai*) and means according to Dr. Winslow 'the revenue of a temple or other public establishment, from the produce of land or a portion of the taxes: or the stated voluntary contribution to such an establishment'."

Page 216, note 4.—For "Vaṇṇam" read "Vāṇṇam."

„ 242, Introduction to No. 108, line 5.—For "gives the king" read "gives the chief Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ."

Note.—According to the Tamil portion he was the donor and not the king.

Page 242—No. 108 Introduction, line 5f.—For "gives the king the title Vīrakīrti" read "gives the donor Māraṇ Paramēśvaraṇ the title Vīrakīrti."

„ 247, Translation, line 4.—For "Tiruvuṇṇāligaipuraṁ" read "Tiruvuṇṇāligaipuraṁ."

„ 253, end of Translation.—For "Gaṇa" read "gaṇa."

„ 260, para. 2.—The word *sabhaikūṭṭuvān* has been taken to be the proper name of a field. But it is very likely that it means "he who convenes the assembly."

„ 260, Introduction to No. 124.—Add the following:—

By its very contents which refer to the renovation of the temple and the using up of the earlier lithic records in its construction, this inscription appears to be the earliest one to be engraved on the walls of the renovated temple. As such, it must belong to the reign of Parāntaka I or his grandfather Vijayālaya, for both of them bore the title Parakēsarivarman. In this connection it may be noted that the earliest certain inscription on the walls of the temple belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I.

„ 279, Translation, line 8.—The word *Vāvu* which is not translated may be taken to refer to Pūrṇimā (full moon) or Amāvāsya (new moon).

„ 290, text-line 83.—For திரு[நா] read திருந[ல்].

„ 292, line 13.—For "Madiri" read "Madirai."

„ 293, line 4.—For "Karpagam" read "Karpagam."

„ „ line 5.—For "Tirunālūr" read "Tirunallūr."

„ „ line 7.—For "Kṛishṇaṇ" read "Kṛishṇaṇ."

„ „ line 11.—For "Nerkunṇam" read "Nerkunṇam."

„ paragraph 2, line 3.—For "naḍu" read "nāḍu."

„ 294, Introduction to No. 144, paragraph 2, line 4.—For "laksana" read "lakshana."

„ 300, last line but 2.—For "Kāraikkāṭṭu" read "Kāraikkāṭṭu."

„ 310, note 2.—For "vidha" read "vidhā."

„ 345, note 10, last line.—For "Mahāseepuraṁ" read "Mahābalipuraṁ."

„ 378, Introduction to No. 202, line 3.—For "Tiruvēlai - aṇaichchākkai" read "Tiruvēlai - chākkai."

„ „ last line of the notes.—Supply 4 at the beginning.

„ 379, line 10.—For "Hi sname" read "His name."

„ „ text-line 4.—For திருவென அறைச்சாக்கை[க்*]கு read திருவென அறைச் சாக்கை[க்*]கு.

„ 381, translation, line 20.—Enter note 5 on the word "aḍai - ḍlai."

„ 382, line 19.—For "nēṇṇu" read "nēṇu."

„ 383, line 3 of Introduction to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates—Correct "1916" into "1906".

„ 391, foot-note 6.—For "Vannāra-pḍrai" read "Vannāra-pārai."

„ 421, (v. 80).—For "Rāvana" read "Rāvaṇa."

„ 435, last line.—For "Nochchikalūval" read "Nochchikalūval."

„ 437, (L. 458)—line 6.—For "me" read "mine."

Page 460, footnote 4.—*For* “Mahâratia, Malaikalam and proferably,” *read* “Mahâratha, Malaikalam and preferably”.

„ 462, „ 1, line 1.—*For* “Kôttâriolil,” *read* “Kôttârpōlil”.

„ „ 1, 2.—*For* “Kôttârpōli” *read* “Kôttârpōlil”.

„ 463, „ 3.—*For* “यराणि,” *read* “वरणि”.

„ 470, Translation 1, 8.—*For* “tuni and kurunî,” *read* “tūni and Kurunî”.

Index p. 7.—*Against* “Eṭṭukkûr” *have* the number “71” instead of “7”.

„ p. 12.—*For* “Kauṣikan,” *read* “Kauṣikan” and *for* “Kavêrakaryakâ,” *read* “Kavêrakanyakâ”.

„ p. 29.—Second column, item 7.—*For* “Kaṭâna” *read* “Kaṭâha”.

Add. Corr., p. XIII.—*For* “p. 25 l. 1f” *read* “p. 25 l. 6f”.

INTRODUCTION.

The early ruling dynasties of Southern India were the Chêras, Chôlas and Pândyas who ethnologically are supposed to have been of a common stock, different from that of the Aryans of Northern India. Their language was Tamil and their country accordingly was known as *Tamīlakam*¹ 'the country of the Tamils'. Under the Aryan influence, the name *Tamīlakam* appears in later times to have been Sanskritised into *Dramīlaka* or *Dramidaka* and dropping the *ka* in accordance with a rule of Sanskrit grammar it became *Dramīla* *Dramida*, *Dravida* or *Drāvida*. When and how these changes took place it is difficult to say. Agastya and Paraśurāma are famous Aryan sages whose stories are intimately connected, from the epic times, with the Drāvida country, Southern India. The term *Dramidāh* occurs as the name of a country, perhaps South India, in the Bhīshmaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*.² Manu speaks of the Dravidas as a degraded class of Kshatriyas. Ptolemy in the first century A.D. used the word *Dimirice*, perhaps, to denote the very same tract of land. In the *Bṛihajjātaka* of Varāhamihira and in Hiuen Tsiang, we find it restricted to the name of a district on the east coast of the Deccan, of which the capital was Conjeeveram. The word *Tamīl* means 'melodious' and it was evidently its sweetness that contributed the name *Tamīl* to that language. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it remains a fact that the Aryans changed it into 'Dramida' first and in their characteristic way attempted afterwards to assimilate it and trace it to some Sanskrit root: this appears to have been the practice of the day, as may be inferred from the incidental note on Drāvidī words given by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila in his famous *Tantra-Vārttika*.

Ethnologists point out several racial differences between the Dravidians and the Aryans such as (1) their customs and manners, (2) their thought formations, and (3) the peculiarities in their physical build. While all this may establish Dravidians as a distinct type, it does not help the historian to peep into the antiquity of an independent Dravidian age in the South, uncontaminated by Aryan influence: much less does it enable him to record any events that might corroborate its separate existence. Tamil literature, to a certain extent, speaks of the early period of the Tamils: but the major portion of its account has yet to be worked out and proved to be a reliable record of contemporaneous events. Even the few historical facts imbedded in it, are in the usual oriental fashion mixed up with the imagery of the poet or the flattery of the courtier.

The kingdoms of the Chôda, Pândya and Kêralaputta (Chêra) are stated in the Rock Edicts of Aśôka to have been bordering on the dominions of the Mauryan Emperor and in the first

¹ *Tamīlakam* is sometimes connected with *Tamluk* (Tamralipti) in Bengal it being presumed that the Tamils immigrated into the South of India by the North-Eastern route through the valley of the Brahmaputra. The expression *Tamīlagam* consists of two words *Tamīl* and *agam* of which the latter means 'earth or land'. In Sanskritising it into *Dramīlaka* the significance of the original Tamil word *agam* does not appear to have been recognised, but the letter *ka* was retained because it was there in the original. Gradually this letter also was dropped since in Sanskrit the suffix *ka* is optionally added to a noun without causing any change in meaning. Sometimes *ka* has the diminutive significance. Thus *Dramīdaka* may have been applied originally to a small district; but when the extended country had to be referred to, the suffix *ka* was dropped and only *Dramīda* used.

² Ch. 9, v. 58.

of these, i.e., the Chôḍa country, the faithful (i.e., Buddhists) are reported to have been living. That Buddhism had already reached the South even before Aśoka's time is thus confirmed by the latter statement, though the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* denies the fact poetically when it says that the missionaries of Aśoka flew over Southern India direct to Ceylon from Kalinga to preach the Buddhist faith there. Stronger evidences have also been recently brought to light which prove the possible influence of Buddhism in Southern India. Whatever the Epics, the Purāṇas and other early Sanskrit works may state or prove regarding the original Drāviḍa inhabitants, their country and their civilisation, positive epigraphical evidence contained in the cave inscriptions of the Madura and Tinnevely districts written in Brāhmī characters of a pre-Aśokan type, and in a language whose affinity to the Dravidian may yet be established when these queer records come to be successfully interpreted¹, shows that these natural caverns, like the thousands of similar rock-shelters of Ceylon were occupied in pre-Christian times by the Buddhists and converted by them into residences for their ascetics. The Brāhmī characters of these records at any rate must have been introduced by the Buddhists from the north or from Ceylon, though the language adopted may have been one mostly influenced by local dialects. Besides these, no further traces of Buddhism are known to exist in South India till after a long interval. In the 11th century A.D. we find gifts made to the great *vihāra* (called Pudukkottai) at Nāgapattanam (Negapatam) by the famous Chôḷa king Rājarāja I. Tamil literature abounds in references to Buddhist stories and authors and leaves no doubt that Buddhism thrived well from its very inception right up to the period of the Śaiva and Vaishnava revivals in the early 7th century A.D. and perhaps in a milder form even after that period, down to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era.

The Purāṇic and the Buddhist periods in the history of Southern India being thus almost a blank from an epigraphical point of view the history of the Śaiva saints and Vaishnava Āḷvārs handed down by tradition and recorded in the books *Periyapurāṇam* and *Guruparamparāprabhāva* respectively, and some well-known works of the *Saṅgam* period, supply, though sparingly, some historical data to work upon. Of the latter class, the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* is exclusively devoted to the life of the reputed king Karikāla who had the banks of the Kāvêri constructed by his vassal kings and who is said to have set his foot over the crowns of the Pāṇḍya and the Chêra². In chapter V of his *Tamils*, 1800 years ago, Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai has collected all that is available in literature regarding the early Chôḷa kings of whom he mentions about eight. Karikāla was the most famous of them. It was he that changed his capital from Uraiyûr to Kāvīrīppattanam, erected banks on either side of the river Kāvêri, dug irrigation canals and patronised poets. After defeating the Pāṇḍyas and the Chêras, he contracted diplomatic marriage relations with the latter and political alliance with the former³. The *Kaḷavaḷi*⁴ or 'the Battle-field', a poem written by the poet Poygaiyâr, describes the fight at Kaḷumalam between the Chôḷa king Chengannân or Kôchchennannân and the Chêra king Kanaikkâl Irumporai, wherein the latter is stated to have been defeated and imprisoned by the

¹ See *Epigraphical Reports* of the Madras Presidency for the years 1907 and onwards. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has shown that the language of these inscriptions is Tamil and has interpreted them as such. See pages 275 to 300 of the *Proceedings and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference*, Madras, 1924.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 146 ff.

³ This king, Karikāla has been assigned to the 5th century A.D., See below, p. 4.

⁴ This poem has been ascribed to the 6th or 7th century A.D. by Kanakasabhai Pillai.

former but released through the intervention of the poet Poygaiyâr whose poem had such good effect on the victorious Chôla that he granted the request of the poet, viz., the release of the Chêra king. Cheṅgaṇṇāṇ is called the king of the 'country watered by the river Kâvêrî.' The same event is also referred to in the later poem, the *Kalīṅgattupparai* which describes the conquest of Kālīṅga by Kulōttuṅga-Chôla I. Epigraphical records describe Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ as a fervent devotee of Śiva and as having been freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body. In the *Periyapurāṇam*, Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ is stated to have been a staunch Śaiva, to have built the temple at Jambukêśvaram in the Trichinopoly district and to have restored many a Śiva temple in the Chôla country from ruin¹. Although a staunch Śaiva himself, Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ is stated to have built Vaishṇava temples as well. Still another early Chôla king mentioned in literature is Perunatkilli or Perunaṅkilli who was 'the master of many sciences.'

Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ and Perunaṅkilli, according to Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai came to the throne after Karikâla. Literature states that Killivalaṇ, the elder brother of Perunaṅkilli, married a Nâga princess named Pīlivalai during a romantic excursion and obtained by her a son called Tonḍai. The king made this prince the ruler of the Tonḍai-maṇḍalam and thus even the little power that might have been wielded by the Chôlas in the northern part of their vast dominions went out of their hands. Tonḍai and his descendants are known in later history as Pallavas (Tonḍaiyarkôṇ). It is significant that the destruction of the capital town of Kâvirippūmpattinam happened during the reign of Killivalaṇ. Of Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ, the Vaishṇava saint Tirumaṅgai-Ālvâr of the 8th century A.D. says that he built 70 temples for Vishṇu. This makes Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ anterior to Tirumaṅgai-Ālvâr.

The *Periyapurāṇam* mentions other Chôla kings and chiefs such as Pugalchôla-Nâyaṇâr, Iḍaṅgali-Nâyaṇâr and Kûṛruva-Nâyaṇâr who are not referred to in epigraphical records.

The vague memory with which the authors of the copper-plate records refer to the three early Chôla kings is sufficient evidence to show that at the commencement of the 10th century A.D., the probable date of the earliest of these records, their names carried with them no more significance than the other legendary names in the earlier portion of the genealogical list. It is surprising also that references to their rule and to their battles are rarely, if at all, found in the thousands of Chôla inscriptions distributed over almost every part of the Chôla country. While thus the political status of these early Chôla kings was altogether forgotten at the commencement of their revival in the end of the 9th century A.D., their devotion to Śaivism which preceded this revival and their actual participation in its propaganda are established by the stories about them related in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

Of the epigraphical records, the Anḇil plates of Sundara-Chôla (Parântaka II) mention Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ as the builder of Śiva temples in various parts of his kingdom². The

¹ Prior to his birth as a king, he was a spider and long served Śiva by weaving a web over the Śivaliṅga stopping thereby the dry leaves from falling on it. The pious spider one day died in an encounter with a white elephant which had regularly been pulling out the web piously woven by it over the head of Śiva. The spider, it is stated, one day killed the elephant by biting it in its proboscis and himself also died immediately being dashed to the ground by the dying elephant. God Śiva liberated at once the spider from its animal body and blessed it to be born as the Chôla king Kôchcheṅgaṇṇāṇ.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 46.

Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant and the large Leyden plates make only a mere mention of him and do not give further details. In the genealogical order, he is placed some time after the famous Karikâla who has been ascribed on other grounds roughly to the end of the 5th century A.D. Perhaps Kôchcheṅgannân was also like Karikâla a famous Chôla king of about that period¹, but unlike him he had a religious turn of mind. The Chôlas in the time of Karikâla must have still been a powerful independent race in their native country.

The Leyden plates, the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant, the Aṇbil plates of Sundara-Chôla and the Kanyâkumâri inscription of Vîrarâjendra-Chôla are the only epigraphical records discovered and published so far, that give genealogical lists of Chôla kings². These do not supply us with any other facts about the earlier members of the dynasty than what has been already gathered from literature. The mythical pedigree, in these records, which traces the Chôlas to the Sun includes such Purâṇic and legendary names as those of Manu, Ikshvâku, Prithu, Mândhâtṛi, Muchukunda, Śibi, etc., and the eponymous Chôla (son of Bharata) after whom the race received the name Chôla³. One of the legendary kings mentioned in the Kanyâkumâri record, *viz.*, Pañchapa is stated to have acquired that name by his affording protection to five Yakshas. Suraguru was another who earned the title Mrityujit, by conquering even the god of Death. Vyâghrakêtu was still another from whom the Chôlas evidently borrowed the banner of the tiger. All the kings so far enumerated, lived 'in ages prior to the Kaliyuga'. To the Kaliyuga itself belonged Karikâla, the builder of the banks of the Kâvêrî and the renewer of the town of Kâñchî; Kôchcheṅgannân, the fervent devotee of Śiva, who was freed by that god from the bondage of a spider's body and who much influenced the revival of Śaivism in Southern India and Perunatkilli. What then could have been the reason for the fact that the doings of these famous Chôla kings, whose constant feuds with the Pândyas and the Chêras or their diplomatic alliances with either of them are so elaborately described by contemporaneous Tamil poets, faded away from the memory of the panegyrists of Sundara-Chôla (Parântaka II), Râjarâja I and Râjendra-Chôla I?⁴ We have perhaps to suppose that between Karikâla, whose time has been fixed to be about the end of the 5th century A.D., and Vijayâlâya of the 9th century, the Chôlas must have become so entirely degenerate⁵ as even to lose their identity

¹ See Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar's '*Some Contributions of Southern India to Indian Culture.*'

² The Udayêndiram Plates of Prithvipati II (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 382 ff.) also supply a genealogical account of the Chôla kings. But the information given here is not so full as in the other plates, the apparent reason being that the Chôla genealogy therein is introduced only incidentally.

³ The Kanyâkumâri record gives a fanciful account of this king Chôla suggesting that he was the first to bring Brâhmanas from Âryāvarta and settle them on the banks of the Kâvêrî. In early Tamil literature, we find no mention of the dynastic name Chôla or its variants. How and when it came into use has yet to be inquired into. Its mention in the form Chôḍa as applied to a kingdom bordering on the dominions of Asôka, the name *Chuliye* given by Hiuen Tsiang to a district of the Telugu country, the title Chôla-Mahârâja found in some Telugu records of the 9th century A.D., the name Śôla occurring in the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* and in some early Kannaḍa inscriptions of the Nolambas, the Śônâḍu, (a contraction of Śôla-nâḍu) found in the *Paṭṭiṇappālai* are the only references so far available with which we may connect the modern name Chôla.

⁴ It is inferred from statements made in literature that Karikâla must have been, at the best, only an usurper and that among the kings who may have succeeded him, there was much of disunion and discontent. This was apparently the reason why they soon disappeared before the advancing Pallavas and the Pândyas.

⁵ Internal disputes and revolts during the time of Kîlivalavan are referred to in the *Śilappadigâram*. He is also stated in the *Aganânûru* to have advanced against Madura and to have been defeated there.

owing perhaps to the rise of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram on the one side and to the pushing inroads of the Pāṇdyas on the other. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chōla¹ refer to a hall in the temple of Ūragam at Conjeeveram named Karikāla-terri probably after Karikāla. The defeat of the unnamed Pāṇḍya king at Vennil by Karikāla might be established if we compare this statement with the genealogical account of the Pāṇḍya dynasty given in the Vēlvikūḍi and the Śiṇṇamaṇḍr plates. About the end of the 5th century A.D. the period of Karikāla's rule, the Pāṇdyas appear to have been politically weak and the Pāṇḍya country itself is said to have been usurped by the Kaḷabhras. With the rise of Kaḍungōṇ² in that family, the Pāṇdyas are said to have revived and spread their power. Karikāla's descendants in the bordering Chōla country were not evidently able to withstand the onrush of the Pāṇdyas and accordingly abandoned their ancestral dominions for about 300 years at least, after Karikāla; until Vijayālaya once again, about the end of the 9th Century A.D., recaptured Tañjāvūr and established his sway over the ancestral Chōla dominions. It is suggested that during this exile the Chōlas might have ruled as petty chiefs in the south-western part of the Telugu country and given rise there to a new family of Telugu kings of Chōla origin, whom Mr. Venkayya calls Telugu-Chōḍas and who in their records claim descent from the solar race and count Karikāla as one of their famous ancestors.

A satisfactory working basis for the history of the Pallavas, the Pāṇdyas and the revived Chōlas may be considered as fairly supplied, though, in the case of the second of these, abundant material available for the medieval period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century has not been sufficiently represented and much of the written history of the first is found distributed over various antiquarian books and journals. While, therefore, giving a full bibliography for the study of the first, and drawing special attention in this connection to the Sanskrit work *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana* composed by the great Pallava king Mahēndra-varman I, about the beginning of the 7th century A.D., I propose to put together in the following pages a detailed account of the Chōlas of Tanjore as far as it could be gathered mainly from the inscriptions included in the first three volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, and collating, of course, where necessary, information from other available sources. All that could be said of the early Pāṇdyas is found *infra* in the historical introduction to the two Śiṇṇamaṇḍr plates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE HISTORY OF THE PALLAVA DYNASTY.

- (1) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Part I (pp. 1 to 33).
- (2) A Pallava grant from Kūram, *ibid.* Part IV, Addenda No. 151.
- (3) Inscriptions of the Pallava Dynasty, *ibid.* Vol. II, Nos. 72, 73, 74, 98 and 99.
- (4) A Prākṛit grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman; *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I, No. 1.
- (5) Two cave inscriptions from the Triśirāpalli (Trichinopoly) rock; *ibid.* No. 9.
- (6) A Plate of a Pallava copper-plate grant; *ibid.* No. 45 (See also *ibid.* Vol. II, No. 40).

¹ *Below*, No. 128, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 72.

² See the Vēlvikūḍi grant published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291—309.

(7) Udayêndiram plates of Nandivarman ; *ibid*, Vol. III. No. 23 (See also *ibid*) No. 38-A).

(8) Mahêndravâdi inscription of Guṇabhara ; *ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 19.

(9) Inscriptions at Kīl-Muṭṭugûr and Âmbûr ; *ibid*, Nos. 22 and 23.

(10) Jaina rock-inscriptions at Pañchapâṇḍavamalai ; *ibid*, No. 14-A.

(11) Râyakôṭa plates of Skandaśishya ; *ibid*, Vol. V, No. 8.

(12) Mayidavôlu plates of Śivaskandavarman ; *ibid*, Vol. VI, No. 8.

(13) Two cave inscriptions at Śīyamaṅgalam ; *ibid*, No. 32.

(14) Three Memorial stones ; *ibid*, Vol. VII, No. 4.

(15) A rock inscription at Taṇḍalam ; *ibid*, No. 5.

(16) Inscriptions at Tirukkôvalûr ; *ibid*, No. 20, A, B and C.

(17) Inscriptions at Śôḷapuram ; *ibid*, No. 26-A and B.

(18) British Museum plates of Chârudêvi ; *ibid*, Vol. VIII, No. 12.

(19) Pîkira grant of Simhavarman ; *ibid*, No. 15.

(20) Chendalûr plates of Kumâravishṇu II ; *ibid*, No. 23.

(21) Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman ; *ibid*, No. 29 (See also *ibid*, Vol. IX, No. 10).

(22) The Pallava inscriptions of the Seven Pagodas ; *ibid*, Vol. X, No. 1.

(23) Tiruvellârai inscription of Dantivarman ; *ibid*, Vol. XI, No. 15 (See also *ibid*. Nos. 22 and 35).

(24) Two cave inscriptions at Dalavânûr ; *ibid*, Vol. XII, No. 27 (also see *ibid*, No. 28).

(25) Uruvupalli grant ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff. (See also the Aihole inscription in the same volume, p. 67).

(26) Mâṅgaḍûr grant ; *ibid*. pp. 154 ff.

(Fa Hian's Kingdom of Dakshina, *ibid*. Vol. VII, pp. 1 ff).

(See contemporaneous history of Gaṅgas, Bâṇas, Kadambas, Râshṭrakûṭas and Western Châlukyas).

(27) Bâdâmi Pallava inscription ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 99 f.

(28) Pallava grant of Vijaya-Buddhavarman *ibid*. p. 100 f.

(29) Pallava grant of Attivarma ; *ibid*. p. 102 f.

(30) Grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla ; *ibid*. Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff.

(31) The Chalukyas and Pallavas ; *ibid*. pp. 23 ff.

(32) Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman ; *ibid*. pp. 167 ff.

(33) The probable age of some Pallava remains ; *ibid*. Vol. XVII, p. 30 f. (Pallavas and Prâkrit ; *ibid*. XXXIII, p. 170).

(34) Two Pallava copper-plate grants ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 246 ff.

(35) Pallavas (the later) in Nellore ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 85.

(36) Pallava antiquities in two volumes by Jouveau Dubreuil.

(37) The Ancient History of Conjeeveram in the *Sketches of Ancient Dekkan* by K. V. S. Aiyar.

In publishing his paper on the *yûpa* inscriptions of king Mûlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo), Dr. J. Ph. Vogel throws out a suggestion that there might have existed a direct intercourse between the ancient Pallava capital Kâñchî and the Archipelago. It is a well known fact that Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Borneo abound in antiquities of Indian origin (See Book VIII in Fergusson's History of Indian and Eastern Architecture).

The revived line of the Chôlas begins with Vijayâlaya who is distinguished by the title Parakêsarivarman. There are copper and lithic records which though not referring directly to his rule, mention him as a Chôla king who had well established himself on the Chôla throne. The Uttama-Chôla plates already referred to in connection with Karikâla mention the 22nd year of a Parakêsarivarman different from the later Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, 'who took Madirai and Îlam' (also referred to in the same inscription). Evidently the earlier Parakêsari is Vijayâlaya to whom also under the same title are attributed two stone records from the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjeeveram¹ and another from Ukkal.

The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates state that Vijayâlaya captured the city of Tañjâvûr and made it his capital and that he also built in it a temple to the goddess Nisumbhasûdanî (Durgâ). The Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he constructed the city of Tañjâpurî anew. Nos. 672 to 675 and 1071 of Prof. Kielhorn's "*Lists of Inscriptions of Southern India*" are attributed to Vijayâlaya. These come from Conjeeveram, Ukkal, Tirukkôvalûr and Sûchîndram. The first three are places in Tonḍai-maṇḍalam and the fourth is in the Pândya kingdom outside the limits of the Chôla country.

If the resuscitation of the new Chôla line of Tanjore was due to the conquests of Vijayâlaya and its expansion in the north and south to those of his son Âditya I. and his grandson Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I, respectively, it is highly improbable that the records mentioned above could be attributed to the founder Vijayâlaya. Probably they are to be assigned to Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I.

It is not stated in any of the records, who the enemy was from whom Tanjore was wrested by Vijayâlaya. About the middle of the 8th century A.D. Tanjore and the surrounding country was under the rule of the Muttaraiyan chiefs. In the Śendalai Pillar inscription of Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan, the latter is styled "the king Mâraṇ, the Lord of Tañjai (*Kô-Mâraṇ-ṛaṇjai-kkôṇ*) and *Kalvar-Kalvan*², *Tañjai-nar-pugal-âlaṇ*, a Kalva of Kalvas, the distinguished Lord of Tañjai." In another place the following phrase occurs "*nirkinṛa tanpanai-tôṛum Tañjai-ttiram pâḍi niṇṇâr*" "they (the cultivators) stood in the fields praising the excellence of the city of Tañjai".³ These extracts show that in the 8th century Tanjore was ruled by a family of chiefs known as the Muttaraiyans. From the title Mâraṇ which Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan held, it may be gathered that he was either of Pândya descent or was a chief, subordinate to that family. At this time there was a great struggle going on between the Pallavas and the Pândyas for the political supremacy of South India. In this disturbed state of affairs, Vijayâlaya seems to have found a good opportunity to defeat the Muttaraiyan chiefs, and make himself the ruler of Tanjore and the surrounding Chôla country.

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 672 and 673.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 143 and 144. It is very likely that in the title *Kalvar-Kalvan* we have to seek the origin of the name Kalabhra. Perhaps Perumbidugu Muttaraiyan was a member of the latter family which in the Vêlvikuḍi plates is said to have held the Pândya country under its sway prior to Kaḍuṅḍṇ.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 141.

Âditya I., the son of Vijayâlaya, was the first great Chôla king that extended or rather recovered the ancestral dominions by the conquest of Tondai-maṇḍalam. This event is referred to in the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates as follows :—

“ Having conquered in battle the Pallava king Aparâjita who possessed a brilliant army, though he was in name Aparâjita (i.e., unconquered) he (i.e., Âditya) took possession of his (i.e., Aparâjita's) beloved country and thus fulfilled the object of his desire.”¹

The Pallava king Aparâjita, allying himself with the Gaṅga king Prithivîpati I., fought a battle at Śripuraṁbiyam, against the Pāṇḍya Varaguna, in which he defeated the latter though his ally lost his life in the conflict. Aparâjita's epigraphical records being found in the Tondai country up to his eighteenth year, Âditya's conquest of Aparâjita and the invasion of the Pallava dominions must have taken place only after that date. Âditya's occupation of Tondai-maṇḍalam is confirmed by an inscription at Tirukkalukkuṇṇam² (Chingleput district) dated in the 27th year of Râjakêsarivarman Âditya I which ratifies a grant that was formerly made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and renewed by “ Vâtâpikonḍa Naraśiṅgappôttaraiyar ” (identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, the conqueror of Vâtâpi).

Again a record of the 24th year of Âditya³ found at Niyamam mentions a grant made by Adigaḷ Gaṇḍaṇ Mâṇambâvai, queen of Nandippôttaraiyar of the *Pallavatilaka* family. The fact that the Pallava queen made a grant in the reign of the Chôla king, suggests that the Pallavas had been completely subdued by this time, and that Nandippôttaraiyar, the husband of Mâṇambâvai, was also dead. The conquest of the Tondai-maṇḍalam earned for Âditya the epithet “ *Tondai-nâḍu-pâviṇa* Râjakêsarivarman ”, i.e., Râjakêsarivarman who overran Tondai-nâḍu, which is given him in an inscription at Tillasthânam.

Friendly relations appear to have existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas in the reign of Âditya I. In the Tillasthânam record mentioned above, a certain Vikki Annaṇ is stated to have received royal honours from Âditya, as well as from his Chêra contemporary Sthâṇu Ravi⁴.

The Anḇil plates of Sundara-Chôla give Âditya the surname Râjakêsarin only and state that he built for Śiva, large number of temples on either side of the river Kâvērî commencing from the Sahya mountain where the river takes its rise right up to the sea where it pours its waters⁵.

The Kayâkumâri inscription supplies us with the information that Âditya was also known by the surname Kôḍaṇḍarâma. In later times, this same title was borne by his grandson, prince Râjâditya.

The conquest of the Koṅgu country by the Chôlas, should also have taken place in the reign of Âditya I. Inscriptions of Parântaka I, the son of Âditya, are found in the

¹ *Below*, p. 419. the Kanyâkumâri inscription states that he killed the Pallava king (perhaps) Aparâjita himself being seated on a mad elephant.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 277. Another inscription in a natural cave at Veḍâl in the North Arcot district and still another at Nerukunṇam in the same district have been attributed to Âditya I.

³ *Below*, p. 226.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50.

Koṅgu-dēsa but that monarch does not make any claim to have conquered it. Therefore it is not improbable that the conquest of Koṅgu was achieved by Âditya himself¹.

In an inscription at Tirumâlpuram (Tirumâlpêr) dated in the 14th year of the later Chôla king Âditya II., Karikâla, king Parântaka I and his predecessor Âditya I., distinguished by the epithet "Tondaimânârrûr-tuñjina-udaiyâr" (i.e., the king who died at Tondaimânârrûr), are referred to. The place Tondaimânârrûr has been identified by Mr. V. Venkayya with Tondamanâd near Kâlahasti in the North Arcot district.² In this village there still exists a temple called Kôṇḍarâmesvara, also mentioned in its inscriptions by the name Âdityêsvara. In one of the Tondamanâd inscriptions reference is made to a "*paḷippaḍai*" (i.e., a shrine built over or near a burial ground) apparently at the same village. It is evident, therefore, that Âditya died at Tondaimânârrûr near Kâlahasti and that his son Parântaka I built a Śiva temple over his ashes³. On the whole, it appears that Âditya had a long and victorious reign during which he laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Chôla empire.

Though a Śaiva himself, Âditya seems to have been tolerant of other religions as proved by his Vedâl inscription (No. 92). In his time provision for repairs of tanks proved a special item of charity (No. 93). Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Surêśvarâchârya and a pupil's pupil of the great Śamkarâchârya, wrote his *Samkshêpasâriraka* under the patronage of a certain Manukulâditya. It is not unlikely that the king here referred to is Âditya I (who ruled about Śaka 800) of the Manukula (i.e., the Chôla family⁴); cf. names like Manukulachûlâmani-chaturvêdimaṅgalam which occur in inscriptions. The latest year of Âditya found from inscriptions being his 27th and the accession of his successor derived from astronomical calculations being 907 A.D. it may be inferred that Âditya I ruled from at least 879 to 907 A.D.

Âditya, as stated above, was succeeded by his son Parakêsarivarman Parântaka I. Prof. Kielhorn, by calculating the astronomical details of date furnished in one of his inscriptions from Grâmam (North Arcot district), has come to the conclusion that Parântaka I began to reign between the 15th January and 25th July A.D. 907.⁵ This is confirmed by the details of date combined with a total eclipse of the sun given in the Âṇaimalai inscription of his 33rd year (No. 106). He continued the expansion of the Chôla dominions which was begun by his father. In the north, he fought against the Vaidumbas and the Bânas who were formerly the feudatories of the Pallavas. The Bânas were defeated and their territory was bestowed upon the Gaṅga king Prithivîpati II, along with the title "the Lord of the Bânas". The Udayêndiram plates⁶ of Prithivîpati II give us an account of his connection with the Bânas and the Gaṅgas.

From his third year onwards Parântaka is called "*Madiraikoṇḍa Parakêsarivarman*" (i.e., Parakêsarivarman who took Madura) in his inscriptions. This title he assumed after

¹ The *Koṅgudêsarâjâkkal* confirms this.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, pp. 71 and 72.

³ This temple deserves to be one of the specially protected monuments of the Archaeological Department.

⁴ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *History of the Deccan*, p. 212.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 260 ff.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. II, p. 375 ff.

his first victory over the Pândyas. It has been already suggested that prior to the rise of the Chôlas to political supremacy in Southern India, the Pallavas and the Pândyas were the dominant powers in the land.

After the Pallavas had been subverted by Âditya I, the Chôlas had to deal with the Pândyas of Madura, before they could claim undisputed sway over the whole of the Southern Peninsula. The power of the Pândyas had by this time grown weak. King Varagunavarman was defeated by the Pallava king Aparâjita at the battle of Śrîpurambiyam and there were also internal dissensions among the Pândyas which weakened their power.

Early therefore, in his reign, Parântaka seems to have conducted campaigns in the Pândya country against Râjasimha-Pândya, the last king of the Pândya line furnished in the Śînnamaṇḍar plates¹, when Madura, the capital of the Pândyas, was captured by him and this gave him the occasion for assuming the title *Madiraiakonḍa*. The Kanyâ-kumâri record says that Parântaka "killed the Pândya with his whole army, robbed him of all his wealth, reduced Madhurâ to ashes and assumed the name Madhurântaka." Verse 9 of the Udayêndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bâṇa king Prithivîpati II seems to refer to this event in the following words² :—

"His army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pândya king together with an army of elephants, horses and soldiers seized a herd of elephants, together with Madura."

The Chôla king naturally was very proud of this achievement, as the Pândyas were, till then, the dominant power in the Tamil land the hereditary dominions of the Chôlas themselves being under them. As his first campaign against the Pândyas is referred to in inscriptions of his third year, this event must have taken place in A.D. 909-10. The Vaṭṭelettu inscription at Âṇaimalai, 6 miles from Madura, confirms Parântaka's capture of Madura and perhaps also his temporary occupation of it.

Before his 12th year, Parântaka I had to fight a second time with the Pândyas. An inscription³ dated in the 12th year of his reign mentions a battle fought by him at Vêlûr against the combined forces of the Pândyas and Singhalese. When the Pândya king Râjasimha was defeated by the Chôla king in his first campaign, he appears to have besought the Singhalese king to take up his cause. The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu plates say in this connection :—

"Encircled by the first of whose (i.e., the Chôla king's) prowess, the Pândya king at once entered the sea, as if intent upon quenching that affliction, in haste abandoning his royal glory and his hereditary dominion" (V. 51). Again, the Udayêndiram plates of the 15th year of Parântaka describe the events that followed in these words :— "Having slain in an instant, at the head of a battle, an immense army despatched by the Lord of Lankâ which teemed with brave soldiers (and) was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears, in the world, the title Saṅgrâmarâghava which is full of meaning²." This was, perhaps, "the fierce battle" fought at Vêlûr between Perumânaḍigaḷ (i.e., Parântaka I) and the allied Pândya and Ceylon kings where four heroes fell on the occasion when Śennippêraraiyaṇ of Araiśûr made a frontal attack with his colleagues' enemy, as described in the Tiruppârkaḍal record (No. 99).

¹ See *below*, No. 206.

² *South Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 387.

³ *Below*, p. 231.

Turning to the Ceylonese account, *Mahāvamsā*, we find these events corroborated. Chapter LII of that work contains the following account: "King Pāṇḍu, who had warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents unto him (i.e., Kassapa V), that he might obtain an army from him and the king, the chief of Laṅkā, took counsel with his ministers and equipped an army and appointing Sakkasēnāpati to the command thereof, accompanied it himself to Maḥaṭṭha, and he stood on the shore and brought to their minds the victories of former kings, and gave them courage, and thus sent them into the ships. And Sakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea, and reached the Pāṇḍya country and when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased, and exclaimed, 'All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion.' and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōḷian race and so he abandoned the struggle and returned (to his own place). The statement here made that the Pāṇḍya king had been defeated in a previous war might refer to the events that took place in or before the third year of Parāntaka I, i.e., A.D. 909. It is also not unlikely that there was still another war between the first and the second encounters here described. These events happened in the reign of Kassapa V who, according to the chronology of the *Mahāvamsā*, reigned from A.D. 906 to 916.

Parāntaka I seems to have undertaken yet another campaign in the Pāṇḍya country, and carried his arms farther even to the island of Ceylon. After his 37th regnal year, he is styled "*Madiraiyum Īlamum koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman*", i.e., Parakēsarivarman who took Madura and Ceylon. This title was not adopted by him on the occasion of his victory over the allied Singhalese troops described above. The epithet "*Madiraiyum Īlamum koṇḍa*" was adopted only after the 37th year as we gather from inscriptions. A record at Kūram dated in his fortieth year¹ mentions that he actually entered Ceylon (*Īlam-pugunda*). The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates refer to this same fact in the following terms:—

"The fire of whose anger after burning (his) enemies quenched not in the waters of the sea, (but) subsided (only) by the tears of the wives of the Singhalese (king) who was cut to pieces and killed by (his) weapons" (V. 52).

The account of this invasion of Ceylon by Parāntaka is referred to in the *Mahāvamsā* as follows:—

In the reign of Udaya III (A.D. 941-9) who was a weak king addicted to drink and slothfulness, the Chōḷa king sent an embassy to him, asking for the crown, etc., that the Pāṇḍya king had deposited with him in the reign of Dappula V (A.D. 917 to 929) evidently after the defeat of Vēḷūr, so that he may be duly inaugurated as the overlord of the Pāṇḍya country. When this request was refused, the Chōḷa king sent an army to Ceylon, which slew the commander of the Singhalese forces. The Singhalese king fled to the Rōhāṇa district, taking with him the regal insignia of the Pāṇḍya king. The Chōḷas were not able to enter the Rōhāṇa country, and returned to India, without accomplishing the object for which the expedition was undertaken. As Parāntaka's invasion of Ceylon happened only after his 37th year, i.e., A.D. 944, the above account of the *Mahāvamsā* must correctly refer to the conquest of Īlam (Ceylon) by Parāntaka².

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 1.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 525.

Towards the close of his reign, Parântaka I seems to have received a check to his victorious career at the hands of the Râshtrakûta king Kṛishṇa III. The latter king's invasion of the Chôla country and the capture of Tanjore and Conjeeveram must have taken place during the lifetime of Parântaka. For, Parântaka's son, prince Râjâditya who was the Viceroy in the northern Chôla dominions and was the first to oppose the invader was killed at Takkôlam while fighting from the back of an elephant, by the Gaṅga prince Bâtuga, an ally and a near kinsman of Kṛishṇa III. The Kanyâkumâri inscription of Virarâjendra states that Kṛishṇa III was actually defeated by Parântaka I. This might refer to an earlier campaign other than the one in which Râjâditya lost his life and the capital towns Kâñchî (Conjeeveram) and Tañjâvûr (Tanjore) belonging to the Chôla king were captured by the Râshtrakûta invader. The last regnal year so far found out for Parântaka is 46, which is taken from a record of his found at Kaṇḍiyûr¹. This corresponds to A.D. 953-54. Kṛishṇa III is said to have died in the Śaka year 889² and his highest known regnal year is 30. Consequently, he should have ascended the throne at least in Śaka 859 (= 937 A.D.). Dr. Fleet's earliest date for him is 940. He had invaded the Tondai-maṇḍalam before his fifth year as an inscription of his, of that year, is found at a place called Siddhalingamaḍam. Râjâditya's death occurred in the year 949 to 950 A.D. and the actual entry of Kṛishṇa III into Tondai-maṇḍalam is mentioned in a Śôlapuram record³ which states that the second year of that entry corresponded to Śaka 871 (= 949 A.D.). Perhaps the years quoted in Kannara-Kṛishṇa's Tamil inscriptions must be taken to count from 949 A.D. Therefore, we may come to the conclusion that prior to 949 Kṛishṇa III was making attempts to invade the Chôla country and that in one of these he was repelled by Parântaka. About this time, Parântaka, as we already know, had his hands full with the affairs of the Pândyan and Singhalese wars. In the meanwhile, the Râshtrakûta king seems to have pushed through his hostilities vigorously which resulted in the death of the prince. Parântaka seems to have survived his son for about five years.

Parântaka's dominions comprised almost the whole of the Tamil country right up to Nellore (No. 108). By the defeat of the Pândya king Râjasimha, the Pândyas also acknowledged Parântaka as their ruler. That he really held sway over that part of the country is proved by the fact that his inscriptions are found in the Madura and Tinnevely districts. On the east coast, his dominions should have extended as far as Nellore; for one of his Tiruvorriyûr records (No. 108), dated in the 34th year of his reign (= A.D. 941), states that a subordinate of Parântaka named Śembiyaṇ Śôliyavaraiyaṇ of Siṛukulattûr was returning from the conquest of Sîtpuli after destroying Nellûr. In the west an inscription of his reign has been found at Sômûr near Karur. The Western Gaṅga king Prithivîpati II, whose dominions lay partly in the Mysore State, was his feudatory.⁴ The friendly relations that existed between the Chêras and the Chôlas as already gathered from the Tilla-sthânam inscription of Âditya I (No. 89) were further strengthened during this reign. One of the queens of Parântaka who bore him the son Ariñjaya was a daughter of the Kêraḷa prince Paḷuvêṭṭaraiyar. Queen Villavaṇ Mahâdêviyâr mentioned in a Tirukkalâvûr inscription

¹ No. 2 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1895.

² No. 236 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1913.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 195.

⁴ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, p. 133.

⁵ Aṅgîl grant of Sundara-Chôla. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 50).

(No. 110) may be identical with this daughter of Paluvēttaraiyar. Two other queens of Parāntaka I were Kilāṇaḍigal or Kōkkilāṇaḍigal, the mother of Āṇaimēṇṇiṇār Rājāditya and Ādittan Kaṇṇalippirāṭṭi. In the Grāmam inscription of Parāntaka¹, mention is made of a general of prince Rājāditya, who came from the Kēraḷa country. Several of the Tirunāmānallūr inscriptions also mention natives of Malabar as the personal servants of prince Rājāditya. It appears that he had a special regiment of soldiers or a class of servants called the “Malayāla retinue”. Princess Ravi-Nīli, the daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāgaḍēva, is reported to have made some offerings to the temple at Tiruvorīyūr in the Chōḷa country². All these facts go to prove that the relations between the Kēraḷas and the Chōḷas during the reign of Parāntaka were of a very cordial nature, and that there was a steady influx of people from Malabar to the Tamiḷ country.

Though this king was engaged for the greater part of his long reign in warlike operations, yet he was not unmindful of the victories of peace. That the internal administration of his country was a matter in which he took a keen interest, is amply proved by the inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, in which the rules for the conduct of the village assemblies were minutely laid down. The village institutions of South India, of course, date from a much earlier period than that of Parāntaka I, but he introduced many salutary reforms for the proper administration of local self-Government.

Nor was the religious side neglected. Many a temple in the Tamiḷ land owed much to his bounty. The booty which he had acquired in his numerous wars he seems to have spent in embellishing the shrine of Naṭarāja at Chidamḍaram. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that he covered with gold the “small hall” at Chidambaram. He performed the *tulābhāra* and *hēmagarbha* gifts, made grants of land to Brahmins, and built many temples. He was a devout Śaiva in religion, though in accordance with the laudable custom among most of the great Indian monarchs, he was tolerant of all the other creeds that were prevailing within his dominions.

In addition to the surnames which have been already noticed he bore the epithets Vīraṇārāyaṇa, Vīrakīrti (No. 108), Vīra-Chōḷa, Vikrama-Chōḷa and Irumaḍi-Śōḷa³. We learn from the Uttaramallūr inscriptions that he also bore the following *birudas*:—Dēvēndraṇ (lord of the gods), Chakravartin (the emperor), Paṇḍitavatsalaṇ (fond of learned men), Kuñjaramallaṇ (the wrestler with elephants) and Śūrachūlāmaṇi (the crest jewel of the heroes). He is also said to have resembled the celestial tree in his gifts. One of his sons, Rājāditya, has been already mentioned. Kōḍaṇḍarāma was a surname of this prince as it was of his grandfather Āditya I. The second son of Parāntaka was Gaṇḍarāditya, who figures as the author of one of the hymns in the Tamiḷ *Tiruvīśaiṇṇā*. Arikulakēsari, Arindama or Ariṇjaya (Ariṇjigai in Tamiḷ) was also another of his sons. A still another son of Parāntaka who figures in inscriptions is Parāntakaṇ Uttamaśīli. He does not appear to have lived long enough to succeed to the Chōḷa throne, but appears to have given his name to the village Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ in Viḷā-nāḍu and to the irrigation canal called Uttamaśīli-vāykal.

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1905-06.

² *Below*, p. 235.

³ *Irumaḍi* or correctly *Iṛmaḍi* means ‘twice’ and the epithet signifies that Parāntaka I was the ‘second great king in the family,’ the first perhaps being his father Āditya I.

From the death of Parântaka I., which must have occurred about the year A.D. 953, to the accession of the great Râjarâja I in A.D. 985, Chôla history is obscure. During this period of 33 years there were five princes who must have occupied the throne. The irregular order of their succession suggests that there must have been internal feuds among the different members of the royal family. We have seen above that the eldest son of Parântaka I, prince Râjâditya, lost his life in the battle of Takkôlam before the death of his father. Therefore, this prince could not have reigned over the Chôla dominions, though it is stated in the Leyden plates that he became king after Parântaka I. It is significant that the Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant does not make him a ruler.

Parântaka I was perhaps succeeded by his second son Râjakêsarivarman Gaṇḍarâditya. Some inscriptions of a "Madiraikoṇḍa Râjakêsarivarman" have been ascribed to Gaṇḍarâditya¹. One of these which is dated in his 8th year (No. 112) mentions Âlvâr Arikulakêsaridêva. The epithet Âlvâr is taken to be one of respect. It may also indicate that he was dead at the time. Another is dated in the 17th year of this king. No event of any importance seems to have taken place in his reign. A part of the Chôla dominions must have been under the Râshtrakûṭas. The Chôla power was, for the time being, eclipsed. Hence the paucity of inscriptions during his reign. Some religious hymns extant in Tamil under the authorship of Gaṇḍarâditya are attributed to him. These show that he must have been a king with a religious bent of mind. Gaṇḍarâditya's queen was Udaiyapirâṭṭiyâr *alias* Mâdêvadigalâr Śembiyaṅ Mâdêviyâr who bore him a son called Madhurântaka Uttama-Chôla. At the time of Gaṇḍarâditya's death, Uttama-Chôla must have been a young boy, as he was set aside in the order of succession till three kings after Gaṇḍarâditya had ruled and died. His mother survived her husband for a long time. She seems to have been a pious lady, as she figures in several inscriptions, making donations to various temples.

If Arikulakêsarî, Arikêsarî, Ariṅjaya or Arindama, died before the 8th year of Gaṇḍarâditya as inferred already, the next king must have been a son of Arikulakêsarî who, as the Aṅbil plates say, was prince Sundara-Chôla born of a Vaidumba princess. He succeeded to the Chôla throne under the name of Parântaka II., and bore the titles Râjakêsarivarman² and Râjêndra. In his stone inscriptions Sundara-Chôla assumes the epithet "*Pâṇḍiyanai-chuṇam-irakkina*", i.e., who caused the Pâṇḍya king to enter the forest. The large Leyden grant records that he fought a sanguinary battle at Chêûr, but it does not mention the name of the enemy. It also says that his son Âditya II., while yet a boy, played sportively with Vîra-Pâṇḍya, as a lion's cub with an infuriated elephant. Therefore, it may be presumed that Âditya-Karikâla was the chosen heir-apparent and that Sundara-Chôla's adversary mentioned above was the Pâṇḍya king Vîra-Pâṇḍya. It is also worthy of note that after Parântaka I, Sundara-Chôla was the next king that fought with the Pâṇḍyas. In an inscription of the reign of Râjarâja I, one of the generals of Sundara-Chôla named Parântakan Śiriyavêlâr *alias* Tirukkaraḷi Pichchaṅ of Koḍumbâlûr is said to have died in a battle-field in Ceylon in the 9th year of *Ponmâligai-tuṅjîṇa-dêvar*³, i.e., Parântaka II., the father of Râjarâja I. This campaign in which the general of Sundara-Chôla lost his

¹ Below pp. 246 ff.

² This title suggests that Sundara-Chôla's actual predecessor or elected predecessor must have been a Parakêsarivarman, and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gaṇḍarâditya, bore this surname but may have been too young at the time to succeed his father.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 121 ff.

life must have occurred during the reign of the Singhalese king Mahinda IV., in whose reign, as stated in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chapter LIV), there was a fight with Vallabha¹, (i.e., the Chôla king), in which it is stated, that Mahinda's general defeated the Chôla army. The date ascribed by Wijesinha to Mahinda IV does not fit in with the time of Parântaka II., but if we deduct the error of 23 years which, according to Dr. Hultzsch has crept into this part of the chronology of the *Mahāvamsa*, Mahinda's reign would fall into the same period as that of Sundara-Chôla². It is interesting to note that the general Śīriyavêlâr or Śīruvêla was a member of the royal family being the son of the daughter of king Parântaka I who was perhaps identical with the Chôla princess Anupamâ, the queen of Samarâbhirâma of the Iruṅgôla race (No. 121). The Aṅbil plates³ which are dated in the 4th year of this king's reign, mention a Brahman minister of his named Aniruddha-Brahmâdhirâja.

As stated already, Sundara-Chôla is referred to in later Chôla inscriptions as *pon-mâligai-tuñjiṇa-dēvar*, i.e., the king who died in the golden palace. He was a very powerful ruler, much loved by his subjects. The Tiruvâlaṅgâḍu grant says that his subjects believed him to be Manu come to the earth to establish his laws which had become lax under the influence of the Kali age. His queen was Vānavanmakâdēvi⁴ who committed *satī* at the death of her husband. Her daughter Kundavai, who had married a Pallava chief named Vandya-dēvar set up an image of her in the temple at Tanjore.

If Gaṇḍarâditya ruled for at least 17 years—that being the latest regnal year obtained from inscriptions for him—and Parântaka I died in 947 A.D., not taking into account the date of a doubtful inscription which gives the 46th year of his reign, the accession of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II will fall in or about 964 A.D. which coincides with the accession of Udaya III of Ceylon, as given in Wijesinha's translation of the *Mahāvamsa*. Sundara-Chôla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th. But from a later inscription of the time of Râjarâja I we learn that in the 9th year of Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II a deadly battle was fought in Ceylon, perhaps with Udaya III, in which a general of Sundara-Chôla, by name Śīriyavêlân died. Perhaps, Sundara-Chôla died soon after and we may for the sake of a tentative chronology give him a reign of 10 years. This brings us to A.D. 974.

Between him and Uttama-Chôla, the son of Gaṇḍarâditya, must be accommodated Parakêsarivarman Âditya II Karikâla, a son of Sundara-Chôla and elder brother of Râjarâja I, and Pârthivêndravarmān, Pârthivêndrâdivarman, Pârthivêndrâdhipativarman, Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman, Parakêsari Vêndirâdivarman or the Paramamahârâja Râjamârâyar. Both these kings claim the epithet, 'who took the head of Pândya or Vîra-Pândya—evidently the same Pândya king who was at war with Sundara-Chôla Parântaka II—and the title Parakêsarivarman. Inscriptions of the former are very few and found only in the south, the latest regnal year being the 5th. Of the latter, there are many in Tondai-maṇḍalam and the latest regnal year is the 13th. Pârthivêndra Âdityavarman may have been a prince of the royal family and Viceroy of Tondai-maṇḍalam. Âditya Karikâla appears to have been the actual successor. He reigned for 6 years and was succeeded

¹ This is a Sanskritized form of the Tamil word *Valavan* which is synonymous with the word *Chôla*.

² *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 517 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 to 72.

⁴ Another queen mentioned in inscriptions was Parântakandēvi-Ammaṇâr, the daughter of a Chêra king.

in 969 A.D. by Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōla, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya. The circumstances under which the crown instead of going to Aruṇmolivarman Rājarāja I, the younger brother of Āditya II Karikāla, went to Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka are explained in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

The successions of Chōla kings from Vijayālaya to Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II have so far presented no difficulty. The statement of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates regarding the reigns of the princes Rājāditya *alias* Kōḍaṇḍarāma and Arikulakēsarī *alias* Ariṇjiga or Arindama, sons of Parāntaka I, cannot be accepted literally. The one died as Viceroy of Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam even before his father and the other during the reign of Gaṇḍarāditya. Before, therefore, going on to the reign of Uttama-Chōla, it is necessary to fix approximately at any rate the period of rule of Sundara-Chōla who succeeded Gaṇḍarāditya under the surname Rājakēsarivarman¹ and of his son Parakēsarī Āditya II Karikāla. Sundara-Chōla's latest year of reign as given in his inscriptions is the 5th². But we have seen above that in the 9th year of his reign a fierce battle was fought in Ceylon with the king of that island and that the Chōla general Śiriyavēlaṇ fell in it. This shows that Sundara-Chōla should have reigned at least for nine years or roughly ten years, though his dated inscriptions which are later than his 5th year are not forthcoming. When did Sundara-Chōla succeed to the throne?

Parakēsarivarman Āditya II, surnamed Karikāla and Rājarāja I surnamed Aruṇmolivarman were the two sons of Parāntaka II, and Kundavai, his daughter. The Leyden plates say that Āditya II as a boy played sportively in battle with Vīra-Pāṇḍya and was his chosen successor to the Chōla throne. In inscriptions he is referred to as Parakēsarivarman who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. It is also stated that he killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory³. He seems to have had a short reign only, as noted in the sequel, and nothing else worthy of note is recorded of him in inscriptions.

We have stated that Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōla Madhurāntaka was the son of Gaṇḍarāditya and that after the death of his father, he had to wait to ascend the throne till his cousin brother Sundara-Chōla and the latter's son Āditya II Karikāla had reigned and died. It might have been so for the reason that he was an infant at the time of his father's death, or that the troubled state of the country required a man of maturer years at the helm of affairs. At any rate, his claim was set aside for the time being. Contrary to the usual order, according to which he ought to have been a Rājakēsarivarman, his predecessor Āditya II being Parakēsarivarman, he too was called a Parakēsarivarman, evidently because he was the son of a Rājakēsarivarman and succeeded to the throne not by the right he possessed but at the request of his cousin's son Rājarāja I who was the chosen successor. For, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, after the death of Āditya II Karikāla, the people wanted Aruṇmolivarman his brother to be their king, but that noble prince refused to accept the offer saying that so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla was desirous of dominion, he would be satisfied with the heir-apparentship⁴.

¹ The adoption of the title Rājakēsarivarman could be explained by saying that the claims of Gaṇḍarāditya's chosen successor, viz., his son Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōla were temporarily set aside and postponed.

² No. 122, dated in the 14th year of Rājakēsarivarman has been attributed to Sundara-Chōla Parāntaka II, but may more probably belong to the reign of Rājarāja I.

³ See below, p. 420, V. 68.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, V. 69.

In the Mahalingasvâmin temple at Tiruvīdaimarudūr, there is an inscription which couples the 13th year of Uttama-Chôla with Kaliyuga 4083 thus yielding 969 A.D. as the initial date of his reign. Uttama-Chôla seems to have reigned for at least 16 years, which is the date quoted in the Madras Museum plates of this king.

Râjarâja's achievements are fully described in the introduction to Volume II by Mr. Venkayya. His son was Râjendra-Chôla I, who was a greater monarch than his father and carried the Chôla arms into regions never penetrated before. During the lifetime of his father he seems to have been entrusted with the affairs of the country. No inscriptions of Râjendra-Chôla prior to his third regnal year are found. Evidently, during these three years, he was ruling as co-regent with his father. According to Professor Kielhorn the reign of Râjendra-Chôla commenced between 27th March and 7th July 1012 A.D.¹

Between the third year and the twelfth he seems to have undertaken and carried out successfully a vast scheme of conquests in many directions. In some at least of these, he merely acted as a deputy of his father. When he ascended the throne he found the Chôla power firmly established. He had only to carry on to its legitimate conclusion the ambitious scheme of expansion started in the previous reign. Before his father Râjarâja could embark on his career of conquests he had to enlist and train up an army, but Râjendra-Chôla had inherited "the great warlike army" whose services are referred to in every inscription. From some of his Tamil inscriptions it is learnt that this army of his was commanded by Śôlamûvendavêlân and that Narâkkan Râman the commander of Râjarâja's forces and the superintendent of the building operations of the Br̥hadiśvara temple at Tanjore continued to hold the same office till at least the 32nd year of Râjendra-Chôla². His inscriptions up to the 5th year mention the conquests of Idaiturai-nâdu, Vanavâsi, Kollippâkkai, Manṇaikkaḍakkam and Ceylon. Idaiturainâdu has been identified with Ededore "2,000" lying between the rivers Kṛishṇâ and Tungabhadra comprising a large part of the present Raichūr district. Vanavâsi is identical with Banavâsi in the North Kanara district and Kollippâkkai must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom somewhere in the Hyderabad State, for it was set on fire by Râjâdhirâja I in the course of a war against Sômesvara I and Vikramâditya VI, and is mentioned as Kollipâke in an inscription of Jayasimha II³. The capture of Kollippâkkai must have been effected as a result of the war against the Western Châlukya Irivabedaṅga Satyâśraya conducted under the direct leadership of Râjendra-Chôla while Râjarâja was yet living. A record of Ūttattûr states that in this war a certain Râjamalla Muttaraiyan who was placed in charge of the elephant troops was killed while piercing the elephant of Satyâśraya under the orders of the king. This must have happened on the occasion when, according to the Hoṭṭûr inscription⁴, "Nûrmaḍi-Chôla⁵ Râjendra (i.e., Râjendra-Chôla I) had collected a force numbering 900,000, had pillaged the whole country, had slaughtered the women, the children and the Brâhmanas, and taking the girls to wife, had destroyed their caste." The Hoṭṭûr record is dated in

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 217.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 230.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, p. 23.

⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 432.

⁵ The title 'Nûr-maḍi' "the hundred times (powerful)" implies not that he was the hundredth powerful king in that family but that he was the most powerful.

A.D. 1007, but the Ūṭattūr inscription belongs to the 3rd year (A.D. 1013-14) of Rājendra-Chōla I. We cannot help remarking with regret on the striking infringement of the ancient moralities of war by this king, however great his military achievements were. In place of Mannaikkadakkam the Kanyākumāri inscription states that Rājendra-Chōla made Mānyakhēṭa the playground for his armies and accordingly it looks as if Mannaikkadakkam is identical with Mānyakhēṭa, as already suggested by me in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. Mannaikonda-Chōla seems to be one of the surnames assumed by the king in commemoration of his conquest of Mānyakhēṭa (also known as Mannaikkadakkam or simply Mannai). Under this name a pavilion was erected in the Śiva temple at Tiruvorriyūr¹. In all probability Rājendra-Chōla I had to quell some insurrections in these places.

During the reign of Rājarāja I, the Chōla authority was firmly established over the northern half of Ceylon and this is proved by the existence of his inscriptions there and by the grant of revenues of certain villages in Ceylon to the temple at Tanjore which was built by him. Rājendra-Chōla I claims in his inscriptions "to have seized the crown of the king of Īlam on the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crown of his queens, the beautiful crown and the pearl necklace of Indra which the king of the South, i.e., the Pāṇḍya had previously deposited with that king of Īlam and the whole of Īla-maṇḍala on the transparent sea." That the Pāṇḍya king deposited his crown and apparel with the king of Ceylon is mentioned in the 53rd chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* and the Pāṇḍya inscriptions mention the necklace of Indra as an heirloom of Pāṇḍya kings. According to the account given in the *Mahāvamsa*, king Mahinda V, in the 36th year of his reign, was captured together with his queen by the Chōla army and sent as prisoner to the Chōla king. Among the booty was the crown that was preserved by inheritance, the priceless diamond bracelet that was a gift of the gods, the sword that could not be broken and the sacred fillet. King Mahinda V died in the 48th year of his accession in the Chōla country after spending twelve years in captivity. So, it becomes clear that Rājendra-Chōla completed the conquest of Ceylon which was begun in the reign of his father. Thereafter for several years Ceylon formed a province of the Chōla empire and was surnamed Mummaḍi-Śōlamanḍalam, after the well-known surname Mummaḍi-Chōla of Rājarāja I. According to the *Mahāvamsa* these events took place in A.D. 1036, while the Tamil inscriptions show that they must have happened before 1017 A.D. Professor Hultzsch has shown in his article entitled "Contributions to Singhalese chronology" that there is an error of some 23 years in the chronology of this part of the *Mahāvamsa*. Applying this correction, the two accounts which of course refer to the same events, can be made to synchronise.

Between the 5th and the 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla's reign, the province of Malabar was also added to his conquests. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Rājendra-Chōla appointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya as viceroy of the Pāṇḍya country, as well as of the newly conquered Kêraḷa dominions. He seems to have adopted this step seeing that the Pāṇḍyas had ever been a source of trouble to the Chōlas from the time of Parāntaka I. The Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy appointed by him has been identified with Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya whose Mannārkoyil inscription has shown that he was ruling contemporaneously with Rājendra-Chōla I. It may be noted that the appointment of members of the Chōla family as viceroys of conquered territories started by this king was continued in the successive reigns².

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, para 24.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol., XI, pp. 292 ff.

The conquest of Northern India by the Chôlas must have taken place in 1023 A.D. The above account shows that it was a general of the Chôla king who conducted this campaign. But it is somewhat difficult to believe how a single Chôla army could overrun within one year such a vast tract of country. It is also said that after vanquishing the kings of the Gangetic countries Râjendra-Chôla's general caused the water of the sacred river to be brought to the Chôla capital on the heads of the conquered kings¹. A stone record of the king found at Ennâyiram in the South Arcot district contains interesting information regarding the conquest of the northern region by the king himself, of his stately return march with all the splendour of the conqueror, of his wedding the Gaṅgâ and hence assuming the title Gaṅgaikonda-Chôla and building a hall called after the title at Ennâyiram and feeding a number of people in it. The wording of the inscription seems to indicate that Râjendra-Chôla I was himself engaged in the expedition against the kings of Northern India (*Uttarâpatha*) and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he did not entrust the management of it merely to his generals as the wording of the Tiruvâlaṅgâdu plates at first sight would imply². Though the date of the record is effaced, the conquests enumerated in it show that it cannot be earlier than A.D. 1023. It is interesting to note that charities which it registers for the maintenance of a hostel and a college for religious instruction of every description, were made to secure success to the arms of the king, showing clearly that the king was at the time engaged in the war. It must have been during this northern invasion that Râjendra-Chôla had the lords of the Kulûta and the Utkala countries slain by his generals as reported in the Kanyâkumâri inscription³. The encounter with the Kulûta king is also referred to in an inscription of the king found at Mahêndragiri where he is said to have set up a pillar of victory. The Kanyâkumâri inscription adds Kalinga to the list of the king's conquests. After this invasion of northern India there seems to have been considerable communication between the kings of northern India and the Chôla country. During the reign of Râjâdhirâja I, the son and successor of Râjendra-Chôla I, the title "Protector of the people of Kannaṅkuchchi" (Kanyâkubja, i.e., Kanauj) was bestowed on one of the royal princes. This shows that Kanauj had close relations with the Chôlas. In an inscription of Kulôttuṅga I found at Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram, the usual introduction of the inscriptions of the Gâhaḍavâla king Gôvindrachandra occurs after the name of the Chôla king. As the *prasasti* of the Gâhaḍavâla king was put in after the name of Kulôttuṅga I, it seems as if the Chôlas had some sort of suzerainty over that northern power.

In commemoration of this memorable campaign in which the waters of the Gaṅgâ were carried on the heads of the subdued kings, the Chôla king founded a new city, which he called Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram. In this city, Râjendra-Chôla built a great temple on the model of the Râjarâjêśvara temple at Tanjore, built by his father. This city was the capital of Chôla emperors for about 100 years. Its original name seems to have been Mudikondachôlapuram, after another surname of the king, and afterwards changed into that of Gaṅgaikondachôlapuram. It had also the name Gaṅgâpurî.

Great as were the military achievements of Râjendra-Chôla I in the mainland of India, he acquired even greater fame by his naval engagements, which took place on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, a feat not attempted by any sovereign of India till his time. It is said

¹ *Archæological Survey Report* for 1911-12, p. 173.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1918, paragraph 25.

³ *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III, p. 157.

Between his 7th and 9th years Rājendra-Chōla was engaged in subduing the seven and a half lakhs country of Irattapādi. This was the country of the Western Chālukya kings ruled over at this time by Jayasimha II (A. D. 1018-1042). In his own inscriptions, Jayasimha claims to have defeated the Chōlas. As both of them boast of having defeated each other, the fact ought to have been either that the success was on both sides alternately or that neither of the two obtained lasting advantage. Along with the Kēraḷas he is stated to have taken possession of the island of Sāndimat. What this island is, is not known.

The inscriptions of his twelfth year mention a number of places which do not appear in the list of conquests mentioned in the records of his ninth year. During these three years, he must have carried on an extensive campaign. He is said to have taken Śakkarakōṭṭam, Maduramaṇḍalam, Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Māsuniḍēsam and Pañchappalli; to have defeated a certain Indraratha of the lunar race at Ādinagar and to have taken him and his family captive; to have captured Oḍḍa-vishaya and Kōśalai-nāḍu; to have defeated Dharmapāla and annexed Daṇḍabutti; to have subdued Raṇasūra of Takkana-Lāḍam: to have overcome Gōvindachandra of Vangāladēsa; to have put to flight Mahîpāla and to have taken Uttara-Lāḍam and the Gaṅgā.

Of the places mentioned here, it may be noted that Sakkarakōṭṭam has been identified by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal with Chakrakōṭa, 8 miles distant from Rājapura in the Bastar State, which was under the rule of king Dhāravarsha when Kulōttuṅga I was the Chōla sovereign. Dr. Hultzsch is of opinion that Maduramaṇḍalam is different from the Pāṇḍya country and that it must refer to the northern Mathura on the Yamunâ river.¹ Here it may be noted that one of the kings of Rājapura called himself Madhurāntakadēva perhaps on account of his capture of Madhurâ. It is not likely that he could have marched against Madhurâ of the south to earn this title. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that Madhura or Maduramaṇḍalam was the name of a district not far from Chakrakōṭa bordering on the Vāṅgi country. Nāmaṇaikkōṇam, Pañchappalli and Māsuniḍēsam have not yet been identified. Professor Kielhorn suggests that Indraratha of the lunar race captured by Rājendra-Chōla at Ādinagar may be identical with that Indraratha who is mentioned in the Udaipūr inscription as an enemy of Bhōjadēva of Dhārâ. Oḍḍa-vishaya is the province of Orissa and Kōśalai-nāḍu is southern Kōśala. Daṇḍabutti and its ruler Dharmapāla are not known from any other sources. Mr. R. D. Banerji is of opinion that the Takkana-Lāḍam of the Tamiḷ inscriptions is distinct both from Gujarat (Lāṭa) and the territory of southern Bêrâr (Virāṭa), and that it should correspond to Dakshina-Rāḍha a part of modern Bengal.² Uttara-Lāḍam must, accordingly, denote the northern part of it. Mahîpāla whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Professor Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahîpāla I.

Most of the places mentioned here were conquered by Rājendra-Chōla I in his campaign against the north for the purpose of bringing the sacred water of the Ganges, which earned for him the title Gaṅgaikōṇḍa-Chōla. The object of Rājendra-Chōla in undertaking this campaign is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant thus³ :—

“This light of the solar race, laughing at Bhagîratha who had brought down the Ganges to the earth from heaven by the power of his austerities, wished to sanctify his own country with the waters of the Ganges. Accordingly, he ordered the commander of the army, who had powerful battalions under his control, who was the resort of heroism and the foremost of diplomats, to subdue the enemy kings occupying the countries on the banks of that river.”

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 3 IX, p. 230.

² *Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXI., p. 7 f.

³ *Below*, p. 424, Vv. 109 and 110.

